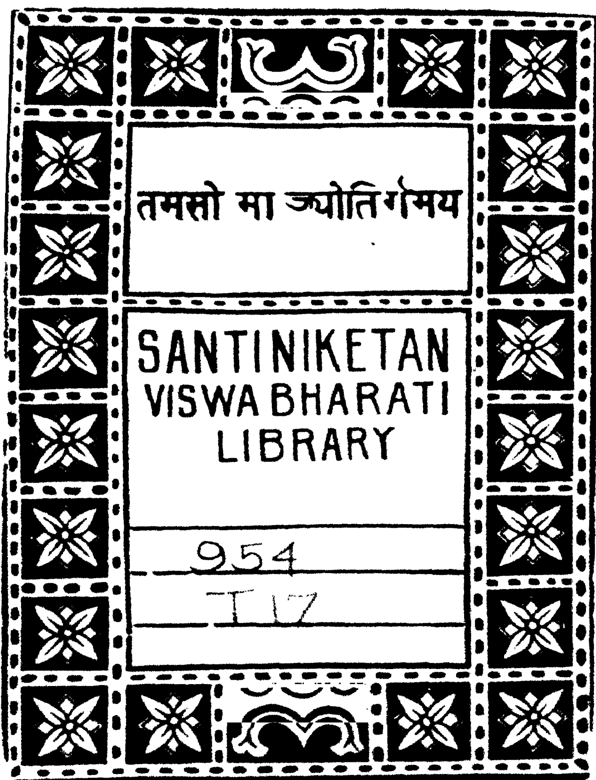


A SHORT HISTORY

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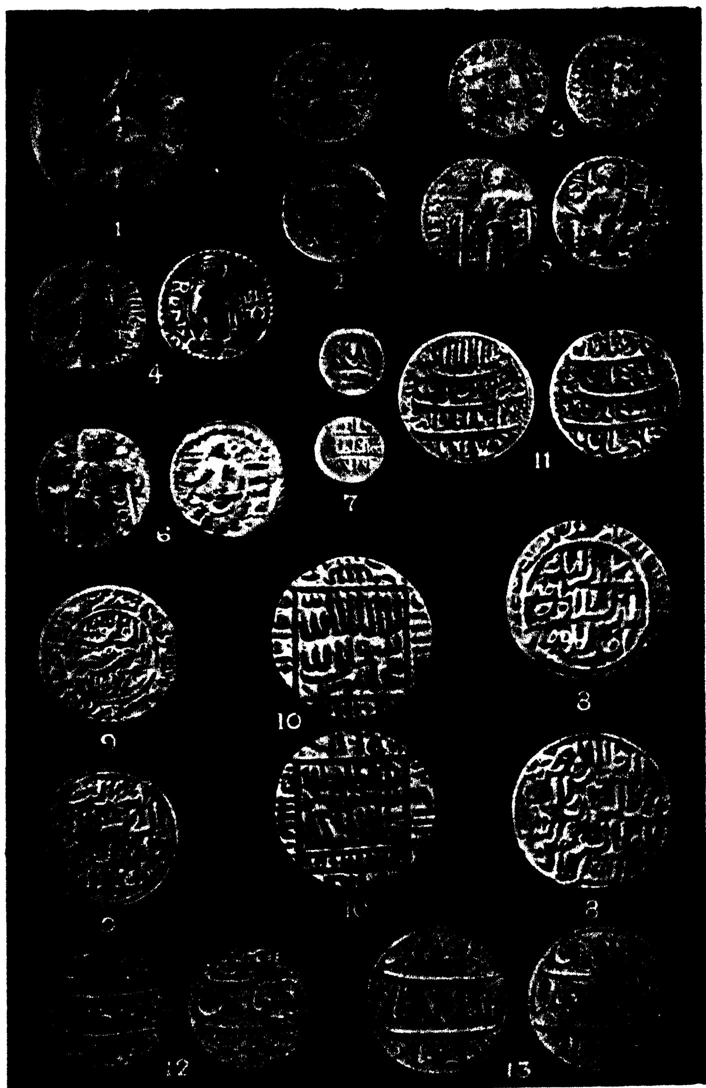
INDIAN PEOPLE



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A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN PEOPLE

From the Earliest Times to
the Present Day

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The Influence of Geographical Features on History.—The history of a country is the record of the achievements of its inhabitants. It describes the growth of their culture and civilisation, the varying fortunes of the peoples and the deeds of their great men. The life and activity of men is related to the surroundings in which they live. Customs and institutions, industries and trade, routes of travel and invasion, intercourse with neighbouring lands and peoples, and social and political systems are influenced by geographical features. In order to understand the history of a people it is necessary, therefore, that we should know something about the extent and area of the country, the distribution of land and water, the nature of the soil and its products and the variations of climate. It must, however, be remembered that although geographical and climatic features influence history because they provide opportunities for men, man is more important than these factors, for he alone determines whether he will make use of them, adapt them to his needs, create civilisation and make progress, or neglect them and remain in a state of barbarism.

There is one other point which should not be forgotten. The environment of a people is always changing. The climate of a region is not always the

same. Especially the quantity of its rainfall is not constant. Every country passes through periods of dryness and moisture. In some periods the rains are excessive, the rivers are flooded, and the country becomes damp and cold; in other periods, decrease in rainfall brings about shrinkage in rivers, aridity, water scarcity and famine. The land and water features also undergo changes, though more slowly, and at greater intervals of time. These fluctuations naturally affect the life of the people inhabiting the region.

(a). The Geography of India

Position in Asia.—The land we live in is geographically a unit. It is a part of the great continent of Asia, which is roughly divided into four regions—two high plateaus and two lowland plains. The plateaus are:—(1) Western Asia, which extends from the Mediterranean Sea to the borders of India, and (2) Central Asia, which stretches from the Himalayas towards the north-east. The lowlands begin from the confines of the highlands. In the north is the lowland region of Siberia and the Aralo-Caspian basin, in the east China and Manchuria, in the west Mesopotamia, and in the south India. Of the three peninsulas which the Asiatic continent throws out towards the south our country occupies the central position. On its three sides it is surrounded by sea, and on its northern frontier the mountains, which rise to great heights, separate it from the countries of Asia.

The Land Frontier of India.—The mountain barrier consists of the Himalayan range and its offshoots. On the western side it separates the valley of the Indus from the highlands of Persia, Seistan, Makran and

Baluchistan by means of the Kirthar, Sulaiman and Safed Koh ranges; further north the Hindukush and its spurs protect the frontier. Between Kashmir and Turkestan stand the mountain masses of the Pamirs and Karakoram. The stupendous ranges of the Himalayas which radiate from the Pamirs extend along the whole northern frontier of India from the Indus to the Brahmaputra. They rise into peaks of dizzy heights and are studded with magnificent forests which effectively part the tableland of Tibet from India. On the eastern extremity, where the Brahmaputra flows round the foot of the Himalayas to join the Ganges, the mountains also fold round, run from north to south and form a chain of hills running parallel to one another. They divide Eastern Bengal and Assam from Burma, and consist of the Patkoi, the Naga, the Jaintia, the Khasi and Garo, the Lushai and Arakan Yoma hills.

The Mountain Passes.—The chain of high mountains which separates India from the rest of Asia forms an almost continuous rampart for the protection of the country. There are, however, gaps in the chain which constitute the landward gates through which India communicates with its neighbours. Starting from the west the first gap is between the Kirthar hills and the sea coast, through which lies the route along the southern coast of Baluchistan. The Bolan pass opens the way from Herat, Kandahar and Quetta to the Indus valley between the Kirthar and Sulaiman ranges. The streams of Gomal and Kurram cut their way through the mountains to join the Indus and create passages to Afghanistan; but the most celebrated of all the gateways of India, on the north-western border, is the Khaibar pass which leads from Kabul to Peshawar. It is situated

over the spur of the hill which flanks the chasm through which the Kabul river flows into the Indus. Over Kashmir and the northern borders the passes are so rugged and so elevated, that possibilities of intercourse with the countries beyond, *i.e.*, Turkestan, China and Tibet are most meagre. Again the eastern hills are covered with dense forests and make India inaccessible from that quarter.

Size and Divisions.—Enclosed within the well-defined frame-work of the mountains and the seas lies our country. It is a vast territory more than half the size of all Europe. Its greatest length from the confines of Kashmir to Cape Comorin is about 2,000 miles and its width from east to west about 2,500 miles. This great land is made up of four regions:—(1) the border region of the northern mountains, (2) the region of the northern continental plains, (3) the region consisting of the central uplands and the plateau of Chhota Nagpur, and (4) the peninsular region consisting of the tablelands of the Deccan and the south and the coastal plains.

(1) The Mountain Region.—The Himalayan mountains connect India with Asia, yet set up an almost impassable barrier between them. They extend from Afghanistan to Burma, and within their valleys hill tribes have from time immemorial lived more or less independently; they have also provided shelter to refugees from the plains.

(2) The Northern Continental Plains.—The northern continental region is a trough between the Himalayas on the one side and the Vindhyas on the other. It is constituted of the lands irrigated by the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges, with

Rajputana wedged between the two. The plain of the Punjab slopes towards the south-west and is drained by the tributaries of the Indus, which take their rise in the Himalayas, and after flowing south-westwards ultimately join the Indus. The elevated plain of Rajputana and Sindh, which separates the Punjab from the Gangetic plain, is divided into two parts by the Aravalli range. The western part consists of Sindh, which is traversed from north to south by the Indus, and of the sandy desert of western Rajputana. The eastern part between the hills and the Jumna river contains most of the Rajput states famous in history.

The plain of the Ganges is divided into two parts at the point where the river turns in the southern direction after reaching the Rajmahal hills. The United Provinces and Behar are here separated from Bengal. The Gangetic plain slopes towards the south-east. The Ganges is its chief river; it receives affluents from the north like the Gomti, the Ghagra, the Gandak, and the Kosi. The Jumna, receiving the waters of south-eastern Rajputana and Malwa (the Chambal), and the northern slopes of the Vindhyas (the Betwa and the Ken), joins the right bank of the Ganges at Allahabad. Further the Son, the Bhagirathi and the Damodar bring the waters of the north-eastern Vindhyas, the Rajmahal hills and the Chhota Nagpur plateau to it from the right. The Brahmaputra, arising in the Himalayas and crossing Assam and East Bengal, and the Meghna draining the eastern hills unite their waters with those of the Ganges and form the great delta of Bengal.

(3) The Central Uplands.—The northern plains ascend gradually towards the south. They are divided from the Deccan by the central uplands, consisting of

the ranges of the Aravalli, the Vindhya and the Satpura hills. These ranges start in the east, on the borders of Orissa in the knot of Amarkantak, and break into two chains, one running directly from the east to the Gulf of Cambay and known generally as the Vindhya mountains, but called by different names in different parts, *e.g.*, the Kaimur and the Rajmahal hills; and the second running parallel to it and known as the Satpuras, and bearing the names of the Maikal, the Mahadeo and the Gawilgarh hills in different parts. The Aravallis are, in a way, a continuation of these ranges from the south-west to the north-east.

The uplands of Central India formed by these hilly tracts include the north-eastern plateau of Chhota Nagpur, Gondwana, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand and Malwa. The Vindhyas drop rather suddenly to form a steep embankment for the valley of the Narbada on its right side. The line of the Satpura hills and the Tapti river fix the southern limit of the central uplands.

The central uplands of India have been the home of many peoples and principalities which have lived and flourished there from the most ancient times. The wild inaccessible eastern parts have been inhabited by some of the most primitive races in India, and the others have given protection to the independent states established there. They have, on the whole, been an obstacle in the way of free intercourse between the north and the south, but they have not been an impassable barrier.

(4) The Peninsular Region.—The peninsular region south of the lines of the Satpuras and the Tapti is surrounded by sea on three sides. It consists of the tablelands of the Deccan and of the south, and the coastal plains round them. The plateaus are higher

towards the west and slope towards the east. The Satpuras on the north, the Sahyadri and the Western Ghats on the west, the Nilgiris and the Annamalai hills in the south and the Eastern Ghats in the east form the edges of the plateaus. The Western Ghats form an elevated ridge and a real watershed; the river systems of the Deccan, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri, take their rise in them and flow down the slopes through the low Eastern Ghats to reach the Bay of Bengal.

The Western Coast.—The coastal plain of the west is narrow, situated as it is between the hills and the seashore. Its greatest breadth is found in the north near the mouths of the Narbada and Tapti rivers and in the extreme south between the Cardamom Hills and the sea. A large number of small and rapidly flowing rivers drain the water of the ghats and bring down mud and sand which fertilise the soil. The line of the coast is straight, the rivers are unnavigable, and the shore is studded with lagoons and sand dunes built by the waves of the sea. It has few bays and, therefore, few harbours and ports for large ships. The northern part of this strip is the Konkan and the southern the Malabar coast.

The Eastern Coast.—The eastern coastal plain is much wider than the western. It extends from the delta of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and lies between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal. The coast is divided into three parts: the southern which is irrigated by the Kaveri, and is called the Karnatak; the middle which contains the deltas of the Godavari and Krishna rivers and is known as the Northern Sarkars; and the northern, formed by the delta of the Mahanadi. The eastern coast line is continuous except where it is broken by lagoons and river deltas. It is deficient in natural

harbours, because the river mouths are filled with silt which renders a close approach to the coast impossible; it has few bays and gulfs and open roadsteads offering safe anchorage.

Tablelands.—The tablelands of the south are two: (1) The plateau of the Deccan through which the river systems of the Godavari, the Krishna and the Pennar have built up open valleys and broad plains; and (2) the high plateau south of the Deccan where the surface of the country has not been cut by rivers, and which is the ancient homeland of the Tamils.

Ceylon.—The island of Ceylon, which is divided from the mainland of India by shallow seas, is almost connected with it by the line of sand banks and rocks called Adam's Bridge. Its inhabitants are emigrants from India, and their history is closely related with that of the people of India.

Climate.—Within the borders of our country there is every variety of landscape, scenery, climate and natural product. Its mountains surpass the mountains of the world in grandeur; their lofty summits are covered with eternal snows and their higher valleys are filled with rivers of ice. Their lower reaches are clothed with thick green forests where plants, trees and animals of numerous varieties abound. In the plains there are extremes of temperature and fertility. We have hot, arid, sandy deserts on the one side; rich and productive plains irrigated by streams and rivers with plentiful supplies of water and with humid air laden with vapour on the other. The plains alternate with wild hilly regions and tablelands. The continuous seashore is indented here and there with safe harbours which accommodate the heaviest men-of-war, but on the whole

it slopes gently down to a surf which will not permit the approach of any but the lightest vessels that will float upon the sea.

We have a variety of seasons, from the extremely hot to the bitterly cold. During the rains the sky is overcast with thick black clouds which bring nourishment to the soil and delight to the hearts of the millions of its cultivators. The blazing sun and the hot winds of summer dull the pace of our activities and oblige us during the day to seek refuge within doors, but the nights which are usually cool, and the wonderful starlit skies under which we gather to meet, to talk and to sleep make us forget the trials of the day. Our winter comes with smiling fields of corn, bright variegated colours of fruit and flower, cool bracing winds and enchanting nights. It replenishes and invigorates us.

Products.—The vegetable and animal life of India is varied. We have forests in the mountains filled with evergreen trees, and forests on the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Deccan nurtured by the monsoons which give us valuable timber for building. Where the forests end and the rains are scantier, we have plains which produce rice and wheat and fruits and grain and other articles of food. This rich plant life supports an equally rich animal life. The mountains, forests and plains teem with insects, birds and beasts. Some of them are noisome and dangerous to human life and others beneficent and serviceable. Amidst the ice-capped mountain ranges there are tracts of stillness whose silence is scarcely broken by the sound of animal life, yet in the rest of the country the land is kept resounding constantly with melodious or discordant notes.

Below the surface which supports this abundant life

lie hidden sources of great wealth. Among the old rocks of the Deccan we have gold, copper, tin, zinc and manganese, iron and coal. Coal and other minerals are found in other parts of India too. The rocks of the south and the Vindhyas supply precious stones and diamonds. We have plenty of building stone, including granite, sandstone and marble.

(b). The Geographical Unity of India

India is full of variety, richness and contrasts. But in spite of these it is geographically a single region, the northern mountain wall and the encircling seas give it a unity which is hardly broken by the low chains of internal hills and the broad slow-moving rivers. This unity provides the background for the development of a common civilisation and the habitation of a united nation.

The Himalayas.—The Himalayas, which protect us from hostile neighbours, play a most important part in the unification of India. The rivers of the north, which bring fertility and plenty to the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, take their rise in them. In fact the corn-producing rich plains may be said to be their peculiar gift. The Himalayan barrier intercepts and directs the rain-laden clouds which the monsoons drive across the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and benefits the whole of India by their precipitation. It turns back the fierce blasts of the cold sand-strewing winds from Tibet and beyond, and maintains the equability of our temperature. In short, the climate of India, its temperature, its winds and rain, the produce of its fields and the activities of its people are

greatly influenced by the Himalayas, and that is the reason why the Hindu religion and mythology attach so much importance to them, and why our art and literature are so deeply influenced by them.

The Rivers.—The rivers are the great highways of commerce and travel. They join the different parts of the country with one another. The Indus and its affluents make the Punjab and Sindh one, and the Ganges and her affluents unite Northern India from Rajputana to Assam. On their banks and at their mouths great cities, which have been centres of wealth, refinement and power, have grown up.

The Roads.—The natural routes of communication which bind the country together and promote intercourse from one part to the other, and, therefore, stimulate the growth of culture, have been determined by the physical features of our land.

Among these lines of communications three are important (see map at the end of the book). The first is the ancient Northern Road (Uttarapatha). It started from Kabul, the meeting place of roads from Transoxiana and Persia, followed the Kabul river, passed over Jalalabad and the confluence of the Swat and Kabul rivers to Ohind or over the Khaibar to Peshawar, crossed the Indus at Taxila, then skirted along the hills from which the rivers of the Punjab emerge so as to cross them where they are shallowest. It proceeded from Peshawar to Jhelum, then to Sialkot, crossed the Beas somewhere near Gurdaspur, the Sutlaj at Rupar and then turned south passing through the narrow neck of land between the Jumna on the one side and the Rajputana desert on the other. After crossing the Jumna at Delhi it proceeded by way of

Bulandshahr, Kampil (near Farrukhabad), Kanauj to Prayag (Allahabad), avoiding the southern affluents of the Jumna. From Prayag it went to Kashi (Benares) and then ran along the right bank of the Ganges to Pataliputra (Patna), then to Rajmahal where the Ganges turns southwards into Bengal, and reached the sea, by way of Monghyr, Champa and Gangasagar, at Tamluk.

The second is the ancient Southern Road (Dakshinapatha) which started from Kapilavastu (the birth-place of Buddha) on the borders of Nepal. It passed Sravasti (Sahet Mahet) the ancient capital of Kosala on the Rapti river, crossed the Sarju at Ayodhya, the Ganges somewhere above Allahabad, the Jumna at Kausambi (Kosam), struck the Vindhyas at Bharhut, then clinging to the hills in order to avoid the crossing of rivers where they join the Jumna, it proceeded to Besnagar or Vidisa (Bhilsa, near Bhopal) and Ujjain. Here it turned southwards, crossed the Narbada at Mahishmati (Mandhata) and the Tapti near Burhanpur and entered the Deccan plateau. Keeping to the headwaters of the rivers, it led to Pratisthana (Paithan) on the Godavari, thence to the Raichur Doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, and across eastern Mysore to Madura.

The third was the Central Road from east to west. From Bengal (Gangasagar, Champa, Monghyr) it went to Pataliputra, then to Kashi, Prayag, Kausambi, Bharhut, Bhilsa, and Ujjain. From Ujjain one route led to Bhrigukachha (Broach) on the sea coast, and the other to the Indus and across the river through Makran (southern Baluchistan) to the west.

Besides these great routes, there were branch roads which joined cities with cities, and countries with

countries. These roads were not metalled like the modern roads, but were pathways whose surface was hardened by the constant traffic of men, beasts and carts. It was the endeavour of the rulers to provide conveniences along the routes, trees to protect travellers from the sun, wells for drinking water and houses for rest.

The routes of travel also determined the position of the fields of battle. Panipat is situated on the Northern Road, at the point where it passed through the narrow neck between the desert of Rajputana on the one side and the Jumna on the other. Here were fought the great battles which decided the fates of the Indian empires. Another spot on this road is the Sakri gali (narrow path). Here the road passes between the Ganges and the Rajmahal hills, and affords a naturally strong position for resisting the march of invaders into Bengal.

Towns grow up where rivers are crossed, for the river front protects them from enemies, and the river can be used for the transport of men and goods. Taxila, Sialkot, Lahore, Kanauj, Allahabad, Benares and numerous other cities are the gift of rivers.

(c). The History of Geographical Changes

The physical features of India are the result of a vast series of changes which the earth has undergone through millions of years. The incessant slow variations and occasional sudden upheavals, under the influence of known and unknown forces, have shaped the land in which we live. The main outline of India and its neighbouring lands, and their principal geographical features as they appear to-day, were established in the age which geologists call the pliocene, that is, about 600,000 years ago. It

was then that the great Himalayan mountains were raised out of the sea to their high level. Fifty thousand years ago the northern region of plains including the Punjab, Rajputana, Bihar and Bengal was still under the sea. Beyond the borders of India, the Black Sea, the Caspian and the Aral formed a single inland sheet of water. Southern India, too, was different. It extended towards the west as far as Madagascar, and the island of Ceylon formed part of the mainland. It is also likely that India was connected by land bridges with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and Australasia. Then the seas began to be filled up by the silt brought down from the mountains, and the alluvial plains of India were eventually formed. The *Vedas* indicate a distribution of land and water different from the one we find now. A great part of Rajputana was under water, the Indus had not to travel so far to join the sea, and the Saraswati flowed into the sea. Much of Bengal had not yet been formed, and the sea probably extended up to Rajmahal.

(d). The History of Climatic Changes

Our climate and the physical conditions of life have also been constantly changing. Between the time that the mountain masses of the north were raised and the beginnings of the historic age, there occurred periods of great rainfall and cold interspersed with periods of comparative aridity and warmth. Since about 25000 B.C. the earth has entered upon the age of mild weather which has gradually grown warmer. At the commencement of the present phase of our climate, water was more plentiful than now, rains were more abundant, inland lakes and seas were larger and rivers more voluminous. Naturally, vegetation was more luxuriant. Great forests covered a

large area in India. They kept the summer cool and the winter mild.

During the historic period, that is since 4000 B.C., changes have taken place in the climate and they have influenced the conditions of Indian life and history. In fact climate is never uniform, although the cycles of great changes take hundreds or thousands of years and minor fluctuations occur at shorter intervals. The only stable factor in climate is temperature. The limits of maximum and minimum temperature remain more or less constant within a particular region. But the duration of these changes, the amount of rainfall and the frequency of storms, vary from period to period, and with them the belts of desert and fertile lands expand and contract; plenty and scarcity, death and disease, energy and lassitude accompany them.

It is impossible to relate a connected history of these changes because the facts are still largely unknown. Scientists, however, divide the history of the changes of rainfall from 5000 B.C. to the present day into four periods.

The first period, which is one of decreasing rainfall, commences from 5000 B.C. and lasts till about 2200 B.C. Then begins the period of increasing rainfall which ends about 1100 B.C. After this comes the second period of decrease which continues from 1100 B.C. to 700 A.D. It is followed by the period of increasing rain which continues into the present times. It must be noted that the drought of the first period is of much greater severity than that of the second, while the first wet period is of greater raininess than the second. Besides, within the longer periods there were

shorter intervals during which rainfall oscillated within lower limits.

Thus, although the interval from about the 5th century B.C. to about 100 A.D. falls within the period of decreasing rainfall, still rains were so plentiful that the Caspian and the Aral were one, and the river Oxus discharged its water into them; the basin of Tarim, the lakes of Turfan and Lob Nor were full of water; in Seistan the Helmund was an extensive sheet of water; Kashmir was so cold and moist that people could only live there in summer. Then, from the first century to about the seventh century, rainfall decreased, the lakes were reduced in size, their beds were utilised for villages, and their basins began to be deserted by men. Kashmir became dry and habitable.

In the next period, which lasted till about the eleventh century, rainfall increased again, lakes expanded, rivers filled up and the regions became more populated. But Kashmir became the abode of cold and snow and was isolated. In the eleventh century a period of aridity set in which lasted, with oscillations, till the fourteenth century. During the next three hundred years rains increased, but afterwards a sort of equilibrium appears to have been established which has occasionally been disturbed by years of excessive aridity and excessive rainfall.

It is difficult to say how far the rise into political importance of certain regions in certain periods of our history is due to climatic changes, but it is well established that the importance of the Indus valley and Rajputana has waxed and waned from time to time, and changes in climate probably account for it. The valley of Sindh appears to

have undergone many changes. In the most ancient times it was the home of a highly developed civilisation. The Greek accounts show that the valley was peopled with civilised inhabitants, its climate was equable and its rivers fertilised the land. The Arabs found it surrounded with desert, although the valley was full of pleasant oases and cities. Bernier in the seventeenth century, and Hamilton and other European travellers in the eighteenth, experienced great drought, although in the fourteenth century the horses of Timur were destroyed by rains in Multan. The course of the Indus has changed a great deal during historic times, and the belt of the desert has advanced and receded with these changes.

There is no doubt that the whole of India has been affected by such climatic changes. Man himself has helped in making them. He has cut down forests, drained marshes, diverted the courses of rivers, created artificial lakes and thus interfered with nature. For example the land east of the Sadanira (Rapti) river was known to have been reclaimed from swamps in the early times. The growth of population and the increase of man's power over natural forces have led him gradually to occupy more and more land, and to enhance the intensity of social life. The history of the people of India is a record of their efforts since the remote past to tame the land, subdue the environment, and spread over the entire country, thus creating a human unity corresponding with the geographical unity.

(e). The History of the Changes in Population

The study of ancient Sanskrit literature gives the impression that the tribes inhabiting India were scattered

over the land and were isolated from one another. They dwelt in regions divided by thick forests through which communication was not easy. Very slowly and gradually their numbers increased and the forest clearings were extended. In the seventh century B.C. the whole of Northern India contained perhaps twenty million people. Throughout the ancient period the population was localised in particular areas, and a multitude of independent states existed, which only occasionally recognised the suzerainty of an overlord.

During the period of the rule of the Muslim kings more lands were occupied, the population increased, their isolation began gradually to break down, and the whole of Northern India became more or less united. During the Middle Ages the population of India was between one hundred and one hundred and forty millions. The Deccan and the extreme south, however, still remained distant and were not strongly affected by this movement of unity till the very end of the period. In the nineteenth century British rule was established and unity was secured. All parts of the country were brought near together by the introduction of railways and telegraphs, which shortened distance and time, and by the tremendous growth of population—from about two hundred millions in the middle of the nineteenth century to over three hundred and fifty millions now. The result is that the idea of India's oneness has taken hold of the mind of the people, and the national consciousness has been awakened.

(f). The Periods of Indian History

The history of man in India goes back to extremely remote times. In fact, it is the opinion of some scientists

that the human race was probably evolved in India. If this is true, the history of our country begins from the first appearance of man upon earth. " Since then the Indian people alone of the peoples of the various countries of the earth have been progressing, without interruption, in handicraft, physical science applied to manual industries, art work on wood, stone and ivory, social amelioration and religious experience."

Whether India was the country where the human race began and from where it spread into the regions of the globe or not, she certainly became, in later ages, the centre towards which the races of mankind were attracted. From the earliest times many tribes came to our country and settled here. They brought with them their social characteristics, their languages, customs, and cultures, and they mingled with the original inhabitants and those that had come before them. The history of India is a record of the process of fusion of these races and cultures—a process which began in the dim distant past and has culminated in the present age.

The history of our country may be divided into five periods. The first period begins with the appearance of man in India. Its record consists of stone and metal tools, weapons and ornaments, pottery, human and animal remains in graves and paintings on rocks and in caves. During this period man was slowly emerging from savagery to barbarism. It lasted till about 3500 B.C. and is known as the Pre-historic Age.

The second period extends from the close of the Pre-historic Age to the middle of the seventh century B.C. During this period the earliest civilisations of India developed, and the Aryans came and spread their language and culture. The sources of the history of this

age are the remains of ancient monuments and the traditions enshrined in the ancient Sanskrit literature. This may be called the Age of Aryan Settlements.

The third period of Indian history begins in the sixth century B.C. and ends with the seventh century A.D. During this period a number of new tribes came to India and became mixed with its inhabitants; new civilisations and religions grew and decayed, and the first empires rose and fell. This is the Ancient Age of our history, and its story is built on the records of foreign travellers and writers, inscriptions, coins, monumental and literary remains.

With the advent of the Muslims in India in the seventh century, the fourth period begins. It ends with the downfall of the Mughal Empire and the establishment of the British rule in India. The sources of its history are mainly Persian chronicles, narratives of travellers who visited the country during this period, literary works in Indian languages, coins and inscriptions. This period is known as the Middle Age of India.

With the close of the Middle Age in the eighteenth century, the fifth or the Modern Age of our history begins. The main achievements of this age are the unification of India under a single government, the development of Indian civilisation under western influences, and the rise of the Indian nation.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRE-HISTORIC AGE

(a). The Early Stone Age

The Pre-historic Age.—We do not know anything about the appearance or the ways of living of the descendants of the first men in India. Our first acquaintance is with the primitive peoples inhabiting the south-eastern regions of India, the ancient lands below the Vindhyas. We find that they lived on the tableland of the Deccan and the Aravallis, in the valleys of the Narbada and the rivers which flow into the Bay of Bengal. Here they found a special kind of stone known as quartzite which they used for making tools and weapons.



QUARTZITE PALAEOLITHS.

By permission of the Supdt., Govt. Museum, Madras.

Tools and Implements.—In the early stages of their history the tools were rude, and they were made by flaking and chipping stones. They prepared axes, spears, knives and other weapons for chopping, throwing and piercing, and implements for digging, pounding and scraping.

Life and Culture.—They lived on the fruits of the jungles and on the products of their hunt. They had to wage a constant war against dangerous beasts like



One of a pair of thorns of Acacia Latronum, a possible arrow head













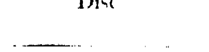


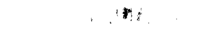
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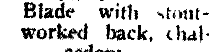




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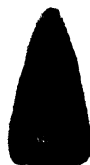


Pygmy Flake. Blade with stout-worked back, chalcedony.

Axe, Archaean Schist Broad axe type—prototype of the Iron Axe

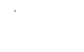


Mealing trough made of grey granite

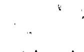
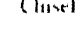




Neoliths









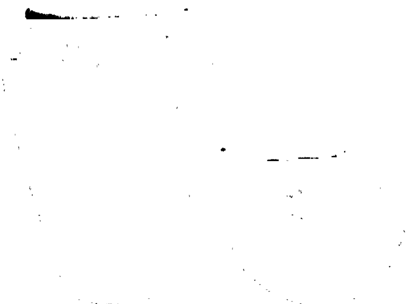
Chisel

tigers, lions, panthers, elephants and rhinoceroses, and they killed antelopes, buffaloes, boars and other animals for food. They invented fire which they produced by the friction of sticks with sticks or stones with stones. Their dress consisted probably of leaf garlands or scraped and dried hides bound round the waist. They disposed of their dead bodies by exposing them, and they practised magic. They had no houses and they lived a wandering life.

Race.—It is extremely difficult to say what race they belonged to and what language they spoke. According to some writers they were a Negrito people like the modern Andamanese, dark of skin, short of stature, small headed, woolly haired and flat nosed.

(b). The New Stone Age

A long interval passed between the Early Stone Age and the New Stone Age, and during this period it is



Vase, broken flat base; Lotah (with calcined bones) brown and red outside, polished.

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likely that contact was established between India and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and Australia. Men were now living in caves, many of which have been dis-

covered with floors littered with ashes, charcoal and bones, and pieces of crude pottery and very small flint implements. It is interesting to know that the cave dwellers knew and practised the art of painting. They used a red pigment with which they made pictures of animals, and of scenes of hunting and dancing on the walls of the caves. The caves are situated in the Kaimur range, at Ghatsila in the Singhbhum district, at Sringerpur in the Raigarh district, and in the Bellary and Wynaad districts. They show a lively imagination, and a high degree of skill in drawing. They exhibit men wearing short skirts and masks, and using harpoons, javelins, shields, etc. They also seem to indicate the cult of ancestor worship.

Tools and Implements.—The people of the New Stone Age began to use trap rock and other kinds of stone instead of quartzite as the material for their implements and weapons. They made them less heavy and better in shape, size and colour. They smoothed and polished them, and provided horn and wood handles to their chisel edged tools. They had numerous varieties of these, and they put them to new uses like cutting timber, scooping canoes, dressing skins, crushing and mealing corn, boring, drilling, sawing, etc.



Beads.

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Pottery.—They developed the art of turning earthen vessels on the wheel, and they made many kinds of pottery which they polished, painted and decorated. They used pigments for colouring pottery and also stones of gay colours for making beads, buttons, tools, etc.

Dress and Ornaments.—They washed gold from the sands of rivers and made ornaments. Their dress

was made of bark, hide and cotton. They knew how to spin cotton and wool, to weave cloth, and to dye it with vegetable dyes. Their women wore bangles of shell and bone, and dressed their hair with high combs.

Occupations.—They had domesticated animals like the dog, goat and ox, and had learnt to cultivate fruits and corn. With the growth of agriculture a change came over their ways of living. They were no

Carvings in Stone.

Small Figure of Bull. 3 holes well drilled at base for suspension. An Amulet?

Figurine of Man; slate, head and shoulders wanting, legs hidden by long coat.

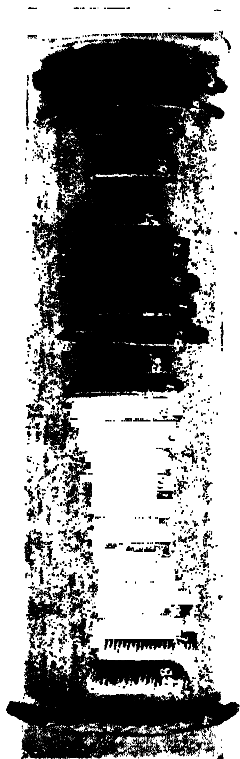
Figurine of Woman, and stand instead of legs. Hair in short ringlets all round head, wears a comb on top of her head.

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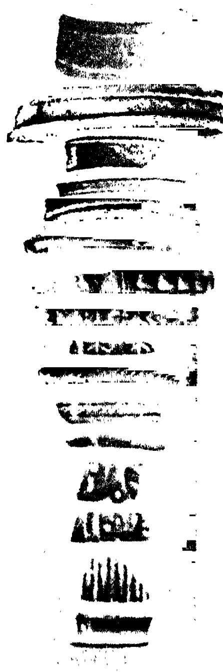
longer merely nomads, hunters and fishermen, but had become herdsmen and cultivators. Their life was more settled and their occupations had become varied.

Disposal of the Dead.—They buried their dead in graves, encircled and covered with stone slabs. They

put rice, grains and tools in them which indicated a belief in the survival of the soul after death. In some places the dead body was placed in a large urn and buried. Besides burial, cremation was also resorted to.



Bangles of light green glass.



Bangles of chank shell elaborately carved.

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Society and Religion.—They had developed the idea of property which familiarised them with differences of social grades. Their worship made them feel the need of the priest, and

so they began to distinguish between priest and patriarch. Their numbers grew and their families joined together to form tribes who were ruled by kings.

Race and Language.—The New Stone Age was continuous with the Early Stone Age in some places, while in others there appears a break between them. It is, therefore, difficult to be certain about the racial characteristics of the peoples who evolved the culture of this age. They are regarded by some as belonging to the stock of Australoid races. They probably made the earlier peoples their slaves and spread over the whole of India north and south of the Narbada. Wherever they founded their settlements they established tribal kingdoms. They spoke languages which are called Austric, and which are akin to the languages spoken in the Australasian region and in India by the Mundas, Kols, Santhals and other primitive peoples to-day.



Two Iron Arrow Heads.

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(c). The Age of Metals

The New Stone Age was followed in the south by the Iron Age where the method of casting iron was first discovered. The culture of the period is continuous with that of the previous age, as the use of iron for weapons and tools did not cause any sudden or wide change.

Burial.—A new form of burial known as the megalithic came into use. The megaliths were large burial mounds erected with stones and used for the

purpose of a cult. They are similar to tombs in Europe, Egypt and Western Asia.

Race.—It is probable that their appearance in India is due to influences which emanated from Egypt or Western China. There are indications that Southern India traded with these countries in the most ancient times. It is also likely that they are due to the advent of a people who spoke the Dravidian language, and who entered India by way of Makran and Baluchistan. Some of them remained behind in Baluchistan while others crossed the Indus, near its mouth in the Rann of Cutch, entered the Sabarmati valley, passed over the Tapti, proceeded to the Deccan plateau and spread southwards. They mixed with the pre-Dravidian people living there, and taught them some of their customs and their language. It is probable that they did not come as conquerors, but as peaceful seekers after precious metals, and, therefore, they had no conflicts with the original inhabitants. According to tradition Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil, Telugu and Canarese countries were the chief Dravidian regions.

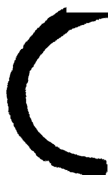
Short Sword with iron handle in one piece.

By permission of the Supdt., Govt. Museum, Madras.

Religion.—They practised fireless religious cults, worshipped many gods and goddesses which were represented by stone pillars, etc. These cults were concerned with their life as hunters, herdsmen and agriculturists. They paid reverence to powers from which they expected help in forests and hills, in the increase of their cattle and the produce of their

lands. Some of these powers were terrible and others beneficent.

Northern India.—During the Stone Ages Northern India was less thickly populated than the eastern parts of the Deccan plateau. The northern plains were covered with dense forests in which it was difficult for primitive men to live. Human habitations were, therefore, confined to the fringe of the forest regions, Sindh and the hill tracts. Gradually men migrated from the



Copper and Iron **Instruments.**
By permission of the Supdt., Govt. Museum, Madras.

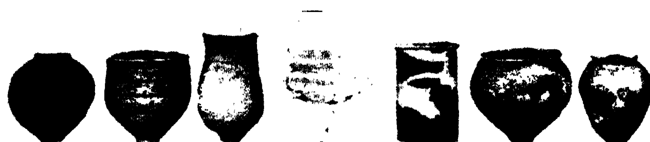
south and later from the west and north, and made clearings and settlements. So far as the north is concerned the remains of the Early Stone Age are mainly confined to the Narbada valley, the Vindhya and the Aravalli regions. The New Stone Age remains are more widespread, as they are found in the Indus and Gangetic valleys in addition. They are rare in the Punjab, Bihar and Bengal.

It is difficult to say when people migrated to Northern India, but it is likely that they did so before the Dravidian

language had spread in the south. Once they had entered the northern plains they established themselves in various parts and founded their principalities. Later, Dravidian culture spread among them, and their language, religious cults and social customs were greatly affected by it.

(d). The Copper Age

In Northern India, the New Stone Age was succeeded by the Copper Age. Copper implements and weapons have been found in the Central Provinces; in Chhota Nagpur; in the Ganges Valley, at Muttra, Cawnpore, Fatehpur and other places; in the Southern Punjab and Sindh; and the relics of a most advanced Copper Age have recently been excavated at Harappa on the Ravi, and Mohenjo-daro in Sindh.



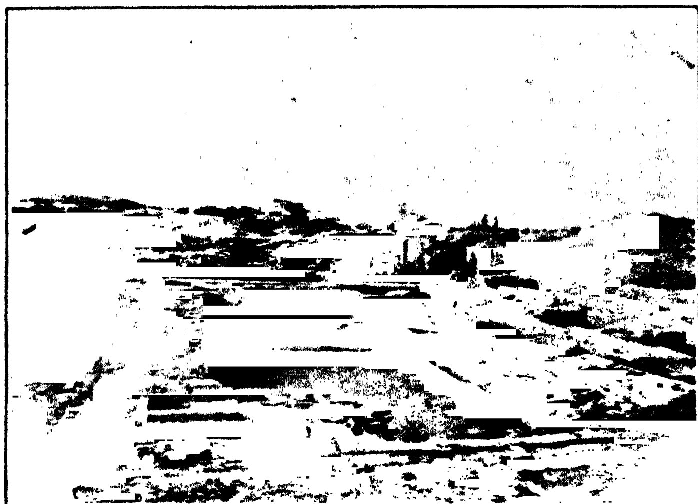
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TYPES OF LARGE VASES, ETC., CONTAINING BONES OF ANIMALS, BIRDS, FISHES, ETC., FOUND AT HARAPPA.

These excavations show that in the Indus valley in the Punjab and Kathiawar, and probably in the Ganges valley also, a highly developed civilisation existed before the Aryans came into India. This civilisation was in all likelihood related to the ancient civilisations of the valleys of the rivers Nile, Euphrates, Tigris and Helmund.

Age.—The remains of the cities which have been excavated exhibit six or seven layers of buildings. After the site was first cleared houses were built, and when they fell into ruin then the same process was repeated

six or seven times. It is impossible to say when the first houses were built, but the opinion is that the age of the three uppermost cities at Mohenjo-daro falls between 3500 to 2500 B.C. It is likely that the earliest occupation took place about 4000 B.C.



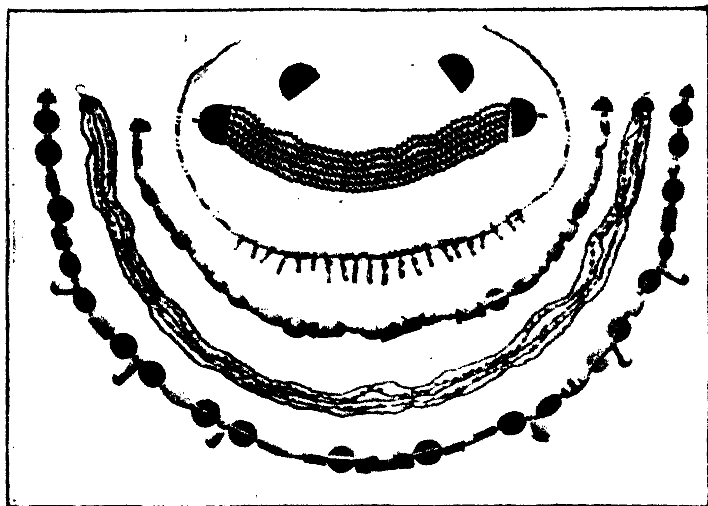
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MOHENJO-DARO.
THE GREAT BATH AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

Climate.—The cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were large and thickly populated and were situated in regions where agriculture was well advanced. The climate of Sindh was moister then, rainfall was heavier and besides the Indus, another large river flowed through it.

Arts.—The people who lived in the region knew the art of building, and their houses, baths, drains and other buildings show remarkable skill and ingenuity.

They used burnt bricks, gypsum and bitumen as materials of building. They practised the arts of spinning and weaving wool and cotton. They adorned their bodies with rich ornaments made of silver, gold, ivory and precious stones. They were familiar with copper, tin and lead, besides silver and gold. Copper was used for



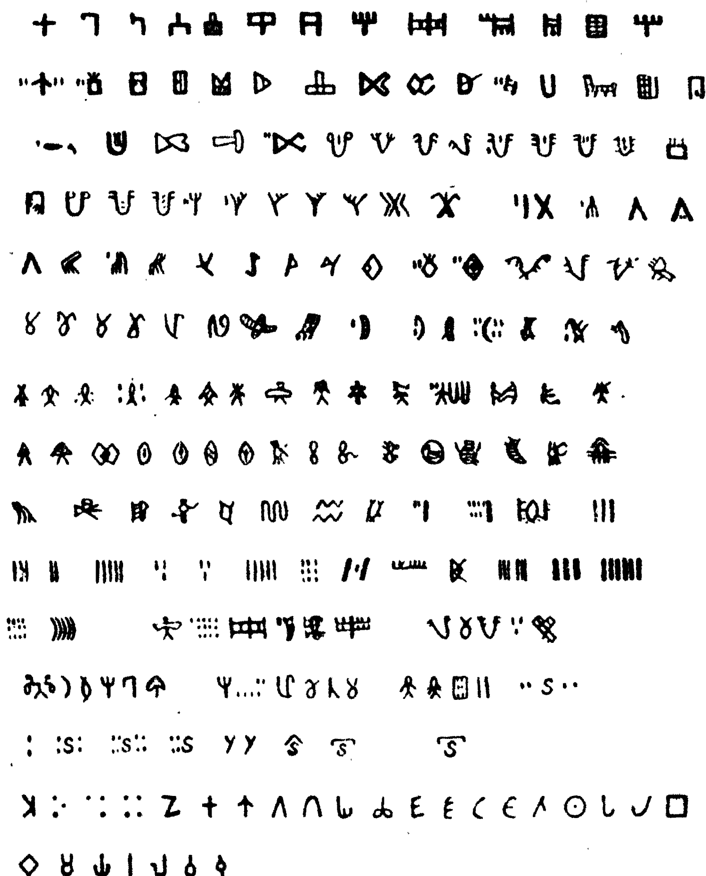
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MOHENJO-DARO JEWELLERY.

weapons, implements and utensils. Bronze was also used. Earthen vessels of a great variety of shapes were made for common household purposes.

Writing and Religion.—They had developed the art of writing, but their letters have not yet been deciphered. The arts of modelling in clay and faience, of engraving and of statuary, were practised and show great merit. The main features of their religion were

worship of a mother goddess and of a male god—probably Siva; gods who had animal forms and Nagas—half-



SIGNS OF THE INDUS SCRIPT.

human, half-snake in shape—were also worshipped. They used magic, charms and amulets. Rites like these

continued to be practised in India even after the Aryans had spread their religion, and were later incorporated in Hinduism.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dwellers of those regions disposed of the dead both by burial and cremation.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF ARYAN SETTLEMENTS

(a). The Aryan Migrations

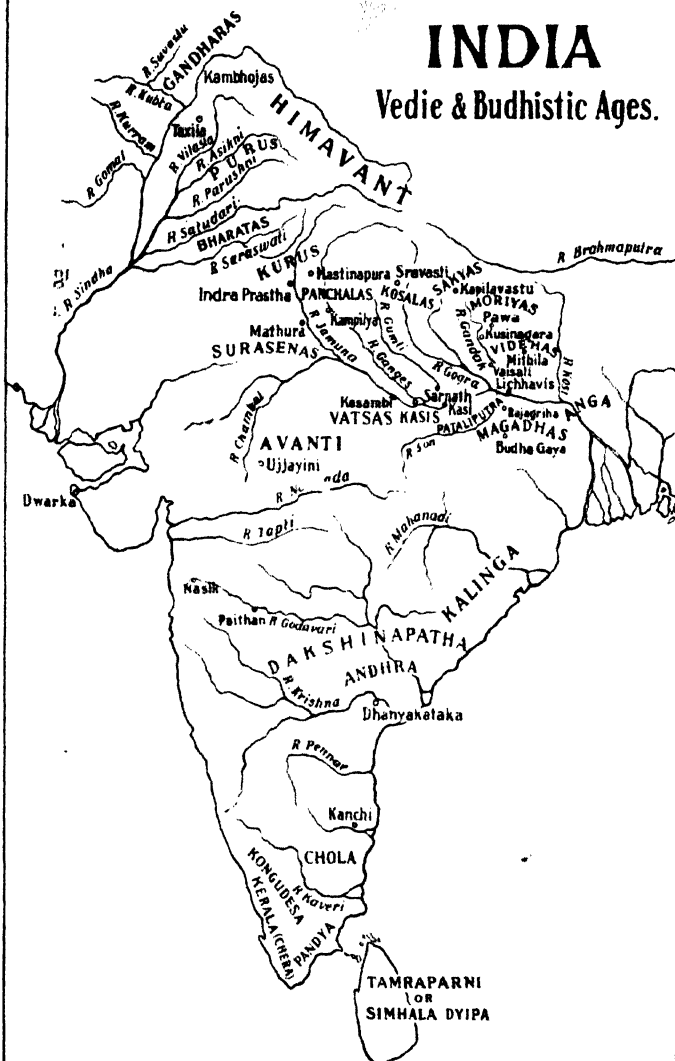
The Aryan People.—Before the Aryans entered India the country was peopled by a mixture of races. Among them were the primitive Negritoes, who ranked low in society, and were compelled to do dirty and mean work. They were the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the country. Above them were the more advanced Kols (Australoids), and the civilised Dravidians. They were distributed among many independent tribes that lived in those parts of the country which had been made habitable by the cutting and burning down of forests.

The Home of the Aryans.—The Aryans arrived in India from the north-west. Historians are not agreed with regard to their original dwelling place. According to some they lived in the Danube valley, according to others in the plains of Hungary and Bohemia. Some believe that the Arctic region was their original home; others Central Asia. Some scholars think that the Aryans were not invaders at all, but were the inhabitants of India from the beginning. On the whole it appears most likely that they lived originally in the steppes stretching along the northern shores of the inland seas from the Aral to the Black Sea, a temperate grass-land region fit for the habitation of a pastoral and nomadic race

acquainted with agriculture. They were a tall, fair complexioned race, having prominent noses, and among them some had long and some round heads. They spoke a language which is connected with the ancient European languages like Greek and Latin, modern European languages like English, German, French and Russian, Eastern languages like Persian and the Indian Vedic Sanskrit and its branches, the modern languages of Northern India like Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi. To the parent language the name Indo-European or Indo-Germanic has been applied.

The Character of Migrations.—The Aryans, who emigrated from their original home, came in successive waves to India. They crossed over the passes of the Hindukush into Afghanistan, and entered India through the valleys of the Swat, the Kabul, the Kurram and the Gomal rivers. They did not come as an invading army consisting of warriors only, but as settlers with their families, herds of cattle and carts laden with their goods. They were divided into a number of tribes and classes, and they occupied the lands of the north-west. In some cases the Dravido-Kolarian inhabitants adopted the Aryan language, religion and culture, accepted their *Rishis* as priests, and became their allies; in others they were dispossessed of their power and made subjects of the Aryans, and in still others the higher classes were driven out and forced to migrate, and the Aryans became masters of their territories.

History of Settlements.—The history of the settlement of various Aryan tribes who came to India from time to time and spread the Aryan culture, and of the wars which the Aryans waged against the non-Aryans and among themselves has not been recorded, and it is


INDIA
Vedie & Budhistic Ages.
GANDHARAS
R. Suvastu
R. Kubha
R. Kurram
Kambhojas
HIMAVANT
Taxila
R. Vilasta
R. Asikni
PURUS
R. Parushni
R. Gomal
R. Satudari
BHARATAS
R. Saraswati
KURUS
R. Sindhu
R. Brahmaputra
Hastinapura
Sravasti
SAKYAS
Kapilavastu
Indra Prastha
PANCHALAS
KOSALAS
MORIYAS
Kampilya
Pawa
Kusinagara
Mathura
SURASENAS
R. Jamuna
R. Gumti
R. Ganges
R. Gandak
VIDEHAS
Mithila
Vaisali
Lichhavis
R. Gogra
R. Kosi
Sarnath
Kasi
Kosambi
VATSAS
KASIS
PATALIPUTRA
Rajagriha
ANGA
MAGADHAS
Budha Gaya
R. Chambal
AVANTI
Ujjayini
R. Son
Dwarka
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
KALINGA
Nasik
Paithan
R. Godavari
DAKSHINAPATHA
ANDHRA
R. Krishna
Dhanyakataka
R. Pennar
Kanchi
CHOLA
KONGUDESA
KERALA (CHERA)
R. Kaveri
PANDYA
TAMRAPARNI
OR
SIMHALA DVIPA

impossible to give a connected account of the events of the Vedic Age. Scholars have, however, tried to collect facts scattered in the Vedic literature and the *Puranas,* and attempted to build up some sort of a connected narrative out of the legends and traditions, but historical accuracy cannot be claimed for the narrative.

First Stage.—On the basis of these accounts, it may be said that the result of the first wave of the Aryan migration was that parts of Afghanistan, the Punjab, Kashmir, Rajputana and Sindh were occupied. The original inhabitants of these regions offered a stout resistance, but were either exterminated or driven into surrounding hills and forests or enslaved.

Second Stage.—The next stage is that of expansion into the Madhya-desha, or the middle land, as far as the Vindhyas in the south, Bihar in the east, and Gujarat or Kathiawar in the west. Now the centre of life was shifted to the country between the Saraswati and the Jumna. The Aryans dominated this land as conquerors, but they did not displace the non-Aryans, as they had done from the Punjab. The whole of Northern India was conquered, and the conquest and colonisation of the Deccan had begun.

Third Stage.—The third stage of the movement begins with the conquest of the non-Aryan tribes of Magadha and Bengal, and concludes with their spread in the Deccan as conquerors and settlers. In these regions the Aryan element was so small that it did not materially affect the character of the population, but it exercised a deep influence over their languages and cultures.

Date of Migrations.—When the Aryans began to arrive in India is not easy to tell, but it will not be far wrong to fix the period from 2500 B.C. to 2000 B.C.

for their arrival. They came into contact with the peoples, some of whom had attained a high degree of culture—perhaps higher than that of the new comers, and the others who were less civilised. They called them by various names such as Asura, Rakshasa, Naga, Nishada, Daitya and Dasa. As many of them were the enemies of the Aryans these names came to mean demons and savages in later times.

Important Tribes.—According to tradition the many tribes which settled in Northern India belonged to two royal lines—the Solar and the Lunar races. The Ikshvakus of Ayodhya, the Janakas of Videha (Mithila), the Vaisalkas of Vaisali (north Bihar), the Saryatas of Gujarat belonged to the first race.

The Ayus of Pratisthan (Allahabad), and the Amavasus of Kanykubja (Kanauj) belonged to the Lunar race. Among their descendants were the Yadavas of western India, the Anavas of the Punjab, the Druhyus of Gandhara, the Turvasus of the south-east, the Pauravas of the Midlands (Hastinapur and Panchala), the Matsyas (west of Mathura), the Kasis (Benares), the Chedis and the Kausambas (in the eastern Doab), and the Barhadrathas of Magadha.

(b). The History of the Aryan Principalities

Ikshvaku and Haihaya rivalry.—In Oudh and its neighbourhood the Ikshvakus played an important part; and the Yadavas and their sub-branch, the Haihayas, around Mathura and in Malwa and Gujarat. The Haihaya ruler, Arjuna Kartavirya, overran the Doab and ravaged Kasi. But the princes of Ayodhya and Kanauj, led by the Brahman priest Parashu Rama, vanquished and killed him. The Haihayas then

obtained the help of foreign tribes from the north-west of India, and again attacked and harassed Kanauj, Ayodhya and Kasi. At last there arose a great ruler among the Ikshvakus, namely, Sagara, who not only drove them back, but invaded their territories, and destroyed their power.

Expansion of Yadus, Purus and Anus.—After the death of Sagara, the kingdom of Ayodhya lost its prominence for some time. The Haihayas had disappeared from history, but the Yadavas took their place and they gradually extended their dominion. Their branches set up their rule over Mathura, Malwa, Gujarat, Vidarbha (Berar) and Mahishmati (Mandhata on the Narbada).

The Purus rose in power under Dushyant, the father of the celebrated king Bharata. Bharata's descendants occupied the territory from the river Saraswati to the Ganges, and Bharata princes ruled at Ahichhatra (Ramnagar), Kampilya (Farrukhabad) and Hastinapur (Delhi). The Anus of the Punjab had sent some of their families to the east during the period when the Haihayas were ravaging the Doab. They established themselves in East Bihar, and created the principalities of Anga (Bihar), Vanga (Bengal), Pundra (N. Bengal), Suhma (S. Bengal) and Kalinga.

Revival of Ikshvakus.—Under Dilip Khatvanga—a descendant of Sagara—the waning glory of Ayodhya was revived. Raghu inherited the throne from him. His son Dasaratha and Dasaratha's four great sons, Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Shatrughna made conquests far and wide, and spread Aryan civilisation into the farthest regions of India. Rama led an expedition towards the south, and the others went towards the Himalayan regions in the north, the Punjab and the west,

and destroyed many aboriginal principalities. The successors of Rama however, could not long maintain the eminence of Ayodhya.

Further Expansion of Purus.—Meanwhile the Purus continued to grow in power. One of their kings, Divodasa of Northern Panchala, fought against the Yadavas and Turvasus, and carried on constant warfare with the Dasas and other tribes. His descendant, Sudasa, is well known because the *Rigveda* records his wars with the ten tribes whom he defeated on the banks of the Ravi. He also defeated the tribes on the east of the Jumna. Kuru, who was a ruler of the Hastinapur branch of the Purus, greatly extended their power. His grandsons conquered Chedi south of the Jumna, Matsya in the west (Alwar and Jaipur), Kausambi (near Allahabad) and Magadha.

The Great Bharata War.—Thus the Purus, who were now known as Kauravas (descendants of Kuru), became the dominant power in Northern India. But their descendants quarrelled among themselves. The sons of Dhritarashtra and of Pandu became bitter enemies, they obtained allies from among the princes of India and fought the great war known as the Mahabharata. The Pandavas, helped by Krishna of the Yadavas, won a great victory on the battlefield of Kurukshetra, but the war was so terrible that the kingdom of the Kurus never recovered from its disastrous effects.

Effects of the War.—After the great war the tribes in the Punjab began to press upon the Kurus, who were forced to abandon Hastinapur and establish their kingdom further east, with Kausambi as their capital. The principalities on the banks of the Saraswati

disappeared. The Aryans of the midland (Madhyadesha) were completely exhausted, and the lead in political power and culture passed away from their hands. The Yadavas fell out among themselves and wasted their strength in civil wars. The quarrels of Ayodhya and Kasi ended with the subjugation of the latter. The Kosalas made the Sakyas their vassals. At Mithila, the capital of Videha, the Janakas maintained for some time a magnificent court which was thronged with learned men, but later the dynasty was overthrown and Videha became a republican state.

Amidst these vicissitudes the kingdom of Magadha continued to be efficiently governed by the Barhadratha dynasty which claimed descent from Kuru. Its greatest king was Jarasandha, who was killed by the Pandavas. But the Bharata War did not shake the power of the Barhadrathas, and under them Magadha became one of the most important kingdoms of Northern India.

(c). State of Culture and Civilisation

The age of settlements lasted from about 2500 B.C. to about 600 B.C. During the long period of nearly two thousand years the Aryans colonised Northern India, conquered its original inhabitants, established kingdoms, and spread their language and culture all over the north and the Deccan, and their influence penetrated to the south. During this process they were themselves greatly affected by their surroundings, with the result that changes took place in their life, manners, religion, language and literature. The information about these matters is derived from the books which they compiled.

Literature.—The most ancient literary work of the Aryans is the *Rigveda*. It is divided into ten parts

called Mandalas, and contains a collection of about 1,028 hymns, prayers, sacrificial formulas and charms composed in verse. Besides the *Rigveda,* there are three other collections known as the *Yajurveda,* the *Sama Veda* and the *Atharva Veda.* Connected with them, but later in date, are the *Brahmanas.* They are written in prose. They explain the meaning of the Vedic verses, and give directions for their use at the proper sacrifices. They describe the sacrificial rites in detail and relate stories about their value and origin.

The *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* are religious treatises which contain the speculations of the Aryan hermits and ascetics on religious and philosophical subjects. In them are found some of the sublimest thoughts and noblest aspirations of the Indian mind.

These three classes of books are regarded by many Hindus as divinely revealed literature. For their proper understanding six subjects known as the *Vedangas* were later developed, which deal with pronunciation, metre, grammar, explanation of words, astronomy and ritual. They are written in a peculiarly condensed style consisting of brief formulas (*Sutras*). Besides them there are other books which treat of secular subjects like medicine, military science, music, art, architecture, etc., and they are known as *Upaveda.*

In addition to the religious literature, there were legends, songs and ballads about kings and their heroic deeds, and genealogical lists of dynasties which later served as material for the epic poems and the *Puranas.*

The early Vedic Social System.—This literature, which is the source of our knowledge about the Vedic Age, shows the various stages of the development of the Aryan society. In the earlier stages, reflected in the

Rigveda, the Aryans had already ceased to be a wandering people. The clans and tribes had settled permanently in different parts of the country, and a settled home life was the mark of their social and political activity. The family was the unit of society. The father was the head of the family and he controlled the sons and daughters and other members. Three or four generations lived together, and probably owned property in common. A number of families lived in one locality and formed a group which was called *grama* (village). They fought together against a common enemy. A number of such fighting units dwelling in a particular region constituted a *vis* (or canton). They were united as followers of a particular chief. The *Jana* or tribe consisted of a number of such cantons, with a king as their ruler.

Each tribe was also divided into a number of classes or orders. Some families belonged to the princely class (Rajanya or Kshattriya), others to the priestly class (Rishis or Brahmans), and the Aryan dependants of these made up the subject class (Vaisyas). The Vaisyas followed the occupation of agriculture and cattle raising, and they constituted also the armed forces of their princes. The three classes were not rigidly separated, and it was possible for a priest to become a prince and for a member of the princely family to become a priest. When the Aryans conquered the Kol and Dravid tribes and principalities, then a fourth class arose which became known as the Dasas or Sudras. The Aryan princes, however, did not regard the Dasa princes as inferior, for they made alliances with them. Only the people who were conquered and enslaved and admitted into the fold of Aryan society were looked upon as the lowest of the four classes,

Political System.—Each tribe was ruled by a king, who belonged to a princely family and whose office was hereditary. The king led in war, dispensed justice with the assistance of assessors, and maintained religion by performing sacrifices at which priests officiated. The Brahman was the counsellor of the king in peace and war. The nobles or Kshattriyas fought under him as captains and commanders (*Senani* and *Gramani*) of the forces. The king and the nobles fought on chariots and the common people on foot.

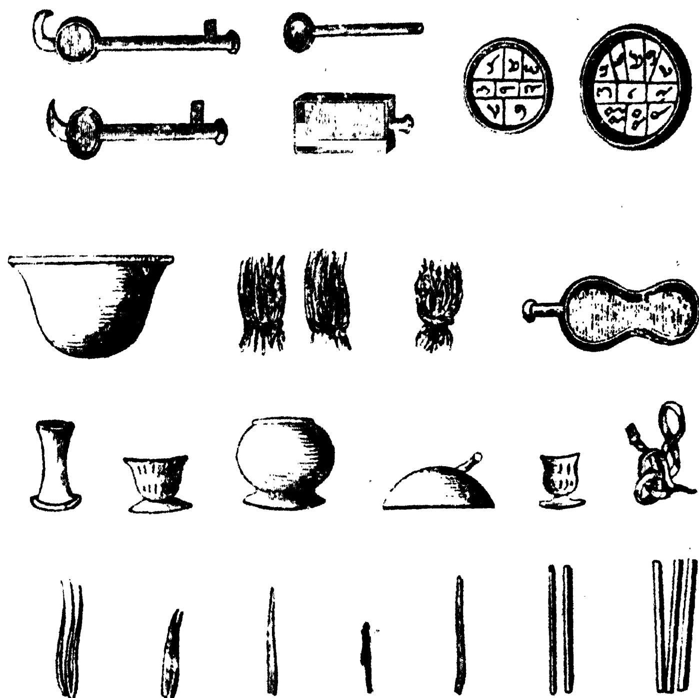
The revenue of the king consisted of free gifts and tributes given by the people, and the booty obtained in war. The power of the king was not arbitrary. The people had two kinds of assemblies, one was known as the *Samiti,* at which political affairs were discussed and decided, and the other was the *Sabha,* which was held for social purposes.

Economic Life.—The early Aryans were a simple folk. They were a pastoral and hunting people who knew agriculture. On settling down in India they developed a number of arts and industries. They began to live in houses; for the common people they constructed dwelling places of clay, bamboo and thatch, and for the rich, palaces of brick with doorways and pillars in which they used timber and metals.

Dress, Food and Amusements.—Their garments were made of cotton, wool, and skin, and they adorned themselves with gold ornaments. Their food consisted of vegetables, fruits, milk, grain and meat, and they drank intoxicating liquors. They were fond of chariot races, gambling, dancing and music.

Domestic Life.—Their domestic life was free. Marriage was usually monogamous, but polygamy was

permitted. Child marriage was unknown. Marriage was regarded as a sacred tie, but widows were probably allowed to remarry. The women were not kept in *purdah* (veil). They were free to go about and to choose their husbands, they took part in religious rites and in religious discussions. Some of them were authors of the mantras of the *Rigveda*.

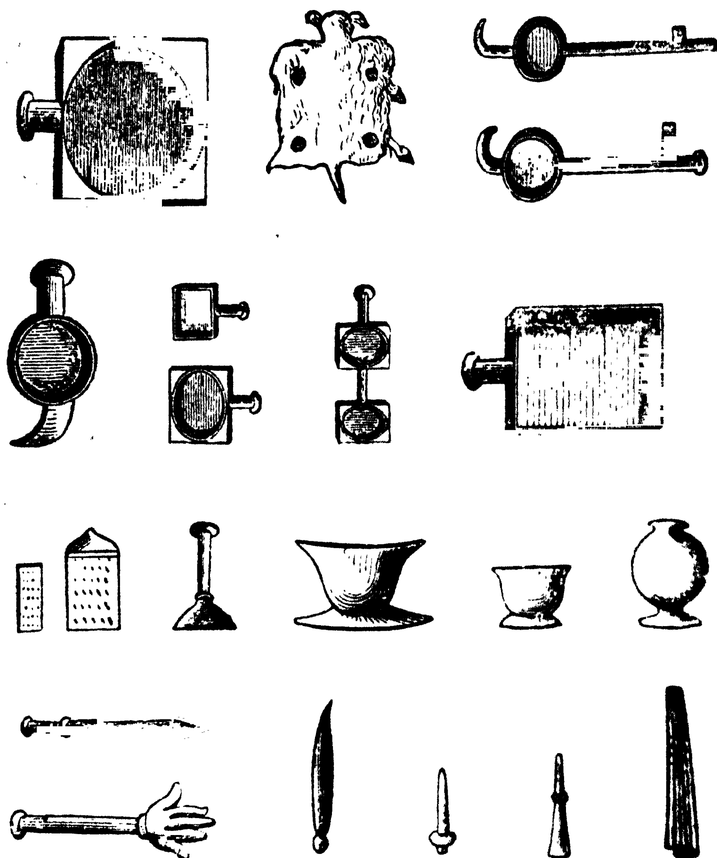


BOWLS, SPOONS, LADLE FOR GHEE, SACRIFICIAL BRASS, KINDLING WOOD, ETC.

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Religion.—The religion of the Aryans was simple and full of the joy of life. The Aryans believed that

there was one divine power which created and sustained the world, and one divine law which regulated all its activities. This power manifested itself in all the great



SACRIFICIAL IMPLEMENTS.

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forces and phenomena of Nature. Indra, Agni, Soma, Varuna and others were the names of these forces.

According to them man was sprung from the gods, and he ought to worship Him through prayer and sacrifice so that he may obtain wealth, prosperity and happiness in this life and the abode of the blessed after death.

The later Vedic Social System, First Stage.—The later Vedic Age is depicted in the *Brahmanas* and *Sutras*. As the Aryans advanced further towards the east and the south, their numbers diminished in proportion to those of the original inhabitants among whom they settled. They had to stay far from the centre of their civilisation in Aryavarta. They were surrounded by peoples who differed from them in customs, religion and culture, and whom they had subjugated. The result was that a great change came over them. Their social organisation became more complex and more rigid. The Brahman and the Kshattriya classes tended to become hereditary castes. The priests so developed the sacrifices and the rites that they alone could understand them and officiate at their performance; and so the occupation of the Brahman became teaching, conducting sacrifice and receiving alms. The Kshattriya studied, governed and fought. The Vaisya undertook study, cultivation and trade, while the Sudra served the higher castes, and practised mechanical arts.

Second Stage.—Gradually, however, occupation ceased to be the basis of caste, and birth began to determine the status of a person. When this happened the Brahmans had begun to pursue many kinds of professions, for example, trade, fighting and government service. They now claimed for themselves a position of superiority and of privilege based on their hereditary title. The Kshattriyas were given the second place in the caste

system. The Vaisyas lost much of their position in the social scale, and the difference between them and the Sudras became narrow. Those among them who continued to follow the higher professions retained a high status like the Sethi or Gahapati, others who remained cultivators or artisans could not be distinguished from Sudras, who also followed these professions. The Sudras thus acquired a better position in society. But in addition to the four main castes a new caste of the *untouchables* or *Chandals* began to be recognised.

Religious Life.—The religion of the later Vedic Age was no longer simple. Sacrifices were multiplied and numerous domestic and public sacrifices were introduced. Sacraments marked every important event in the life of the individual from birth to death. Sacred rites and ceremonies were performed daily, periodically and at seasonal changes. Elaborate sacrifices like the Rajasuya (consecration of a king) and Asvamedha (horse sacrifice) were prescribed for occasions of public importance. Thus the Vedic religion became largely a matter of correct performance of sacrifices, by means of which one could achieve the fulfilment of his desires.

Another development was the appearance of the doctrines of Karma and of transmigration, and of emancipation from suffering and sorrow by means of ascetic exercises and sacrifices. With them the bright and joyous outlook upon life disappeared.

New gods and goddesses began to be worshipped, and a change came over the attitude of the people towards the old ones. Some assumed greater importance, while others lost their popularity. Magic and superstition also began to prevail.

Other Changes.—With these, changes appeared in the social life. Marriage restrictions became more rigid between castes, but morals became laxer. Women lost their independence, and their status became degraded to that of the Sudras. They were debarred from studying the *Vedas* or taking part in the sacrifices. Not only did the distinctions of caste become more rigid, the life of the individual was sought to be regulated by rigorous rules. The division of life into four separate periods (Asramas) became the ideal, and rules of conduct suited for the four periods—of the student, the householder, the ascetic and the hermit, began to apply.

Economic Life.—The later Vedic Age showed greater diversity of industrial and commercial pursuits, more luxury and more wealth. Knowledge advanced and the art of writing was acquired.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANCIENT AGE, 650 B.C.—800 A.D.

The Ancient Age of our history begins with the rise of Magadha into prominence in the middle of the seventh century B.C. It closes in the eighth century A.D. when the Arabs conquered Sindh. It is the age of the kingdoms and empires ruled by the indigenous princes and emperors of India. It is also the age of the uninterrupted development of the Indian civilisation, mainly under the stress of internal factors and forces. During this age India received in her bosom many a tribe from outside her frontiers, but absorbed them completely into her population; India also received cultural influences from abroad which affected certain aspects of her culture, but the main stream of her life and civilisation continued to flow in the channels made by the children of the soil.

The Ancient Age is divided into five periods:—(1) The period of the rise of Magadha from 650 B.C. to 325 B.C., (2) the period of Maurya ascendancy from 325 B.C. to 184 B.C., (3) the period of the Brahman empire and the struggle with the Yavanas from 184 B.C. to 27 B.C., (4) the period of Satavahana ascendancy and the struggle with the Sakas from 27 B.C. to 300 A.D., and (5) the period of Northern ascendancy and the struggle with the Hunas from 300 A.D. to 800 A.D.

1 (a). The Rise of Magadha, 650 B.C. to 325 B.C. —In the centuries following the great Bharata War, the kingdoms of the midlands declined, but a connected history of these is not possible because of lack of information.

In the seventh century there were many states in Northern India, some of them were republics, and the others were governed by kings. Among the republics were included a number of tribes inhabiting the country north of the Ganges between Kosala and Anga. The confederacy of the Vrijjis was the most noted, and it included the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. The Sakyas were also a republic, and they had their capital at Kapilavastu. In the Punjab, Sindh and Gujarat also there were similar republican states. Among the monarchies there were the small kingdoms like Gandhara (with its capital at Takshashila), Sursena (at Mathura), and Anga (at Champa). But the most important principalities of the century were the four kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa or Vamsa, and Avanti, with their capitals at Rajgriha, Sravasti, Kausambi and Ujjain.

Before the birth of Gautam Buddha, the Kosalas had obtained ascendancy over the ancient principalities of the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Kasis and the Sakyas; the kingdom of Avanti had come to exercise rule over the Sursenas, the Matsyas and the Bhojas; the Vatsas probably controlled the Chedis who were their neighbours; but the kingdom of Magadha, which had recently arisen into power, ultimately extended its sway over all of them.

At the time of the Bharata War, the Barhadratha dynasty ruled over Magadha. The last ruler of the dynasty was Ripunjaya. After him a new dynasty began to rule in Magadha. Its first

important king was Bimbisara Seniya (Srenika) who increased the influence of his house by marriage relations. He married the daughters of the chief of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, of the king of the Kosalas and of the ruler of the Madras (Punjab), and he gave his daughter in marriage to the king of the Vatsas of Kausambi. He built a new capital at Rajgriha, and annexed the kingdom of Anga whose capital was Champa. Sakyamuni Gautam, the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Mahavir, the founder of Jainism, lived during his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Ajatsatru, who, according to the Buddhist traditions, starved his father to death and then repented before the Buddha. He was a powerful ruler and married the daughter of Prasenajit, the ruler of Kosala. He waged wars against the Vrijjis and the Lichchhavis, and annexed the territories of Vaisali, Videha and Kasi to his kingdom. He also seized a part of the Kosala territories and raised his kingdom to a position of dominance. His only rival was the ruler of Avanti. Gautam Buddha died in the eighth year of his reign.

Ajatsatru's son, Udayin, founded the city of Pataliputra. From his descendants, who were weak, the throne passed to Nandivardhana Sisunaga, who was a governor before he became king. He destroyed the power of the rulers of Avanti, and made Magadha supreme over a large part of Northern India.

The Saisunaga dynasty was overthrown by the line of Nanda, whose first ruler was Mahapadma. He was a great conqueror, and he brought Kosala, Kuntala, and Kalinga under his sway, and left to his sons an extensive empire, a large army and an abundant treasury. His eight sons succeeded him, and then Chandragupta

Maurya, with the help of his Brahman minister, Kautilya, seized the throne.

Foreign Invasions.—While Magadha was establishing its supremacy in the interior, north-western India had to face the invasions of the Persians from the west. The relations between Persia and India go back to remote times. In the sixth century Cyrus the Great of Persia was brought into direct contact with India by his campaigns in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In the reign of Darius (522-486 B.C.) the valley of Sindh and a portion of the Punjab were included in the Persian empire.

In the fourth century, when the Nandas were ruling at Pataliputra, Alexander, King of Macedon, after overrunning Western Asia and conquering Persia and Afghanistan, crossed the Indus in 326 B.C. The Raja of Takshashila, who had heard of his approach and had sent his submission before he had crossed the Indus, opened the gates of India to the invader and allowed him to enter India. Alexander proceeded towards the Jhelum, and defeated the Paurava king on the bank of the river, but gave him back his kingdom. Then he crossed the other rivers of the Punjab, defeating the rulers of the tribes inhabiting the regions between the rivers Jhelum and Ravi, and advanced to the Beas. His army, which had followed him without a murmur so far, refused to move forward. Alexander was forced to stop here. Then he returned to the Jhelum, prepared a fleet of boats and sailed down the Indus to the ocean. On the way along the banks of the river he attacked and crushed the tribes which attempted to arrest his passage. On reaching the mouth of the Indus the army proceeded to Babylon, one part going by sea, and the other by land.

Alexander remained in India from February

326 B.C. to October 325 B.C., and his short campaign had little effect upon India. When he passed out of the country, the tribes which he had subdued reasserted their independence, and soon the memory of his conquest was obliterated from the minds of the people.

1 (b). The Social and Religious Changes, 650—325 B.C.

In the seventh century there was much stir in the religious and social life of India. A great change had come over the spirit of the old Vedic religion. The sacrifices and rites had assumed an importance which tended to diminish the value of real piety and true religion. Their numbers had increased, they had become elaborate, and they were regarded merely as a powerful means of attaining men's earthly desires. The rules of the sacrifices had become complex and they required the whole time of the Brahmans to understand them. The life of the ordinary householder was regulated by the elaborate rules of duty (*Dharma*). To make it easy to remember these they were reduced into aphorisms (*Sutras*).

Many people, however, had begun to doubt the efficacy of the sacrifices and rites, and to speculate upon the problems of man's destiny and salvation. The earlier *Upanishads* embody the results of some of these discussions. They laid emphasis upon knowledge, asceticism and spiritual discipline for the attainment of supreme bliss. But along with them new philosophical and religious systems grew up which offered other solutions of these problems.

The worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva became popular and began to take the place of the worship of the

Vedic gods. The Bhagvata religion, of which Vasudeva and Krishna became the central figures, also had its beginning about this period. It taught the way of the realisation of freedom (*Moksha*) through love and devotion.

In the eastern regions this intellectual and religious movement led to the appearance of the religions which repudiated the Vedic cult and doctrine. A marked feature of the religious life of this period was the prevalence of orders of wandering monks (*Sadhus*). Among Brahmans and Kshattriyas many men abandoned their homes and relatives in order to go about and acquire religious truth wherever they could find it. These wandering holy men spread ideas and stirred the minds of the people. They lived a life of purity, simplicity and self-mortification, and attracted the people by their good character and unselfish living.

Among them many became founders of religion, but the most important were Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. They lived about the same time and knew Bimbisara and Ajatsatru, kings of Magadha.

The Jaina Religion.—Mahavira's father was a wealthy nobleman of Kundagrama, near Vaisali, and his mother a Lichchhavi princess. He was related to Ajatsatru. At the age of thirty he left his home and became a monk. He led a hard ascetic life of penance and meditation. At the age of forty-two he realised supreme knowledge and freedom from the bonds of pleasure and pain, and became Arhata and Jina (the conqueror). He then taught the Jaina religion. For thirty years he went about preaching his doctrines and making converts. He died at the age of seventy-two years at Pava, near Rajgriha.

The Jaina religion teaches that suffering is the lot of man, his condition is unstable, his soul tosses like a boat helplessly along the current of life, and passes from one state to another (Samsara). Thus existence itself is misery and, therefore, man's goal must be release from the pain of the cycle of births and deaths. This can be obtained by gaining possession of the three precious jewels of religion. In the first place one should have the right faith, surrender himself to the teacher and take refuge in him; secondly, one should obtain the right knowledge of the great truths about the world, action and bondage; and, thirdly, one should follow the right path and take the vows of non-injury, truth, poverty, chastity and self-sacrifice.

The religion of Mahavira was universal. He preached that salvation was within the reach of all irrespective of caste or race, that man was responsible for his own actions and must rely on his own efforts for reaching the goal. He prescribed an austere discipline for those whose duty was to teach, and laid special emphasis upon the virtues of *Ahimsa* or non-injury to living beings.

The Buddhist Religion.—Gautama Buddha, who broke away from the religious system of the sacrifices, was the son of Suddhodana, who was a prince of the Sakya clan. He was born in the Lumbini garden at Kapilavastu, and was brought up in the midst of great wealth and luxury. He was of a reflective turn of mind, and the sight of old age, sickness and death so deeply touched his heart that it produced in him a great revulsion towards the world. He renounced the life of comfort and ease, left his

beautiful young wife, his new born son, and his sorrowing parents to enter into the homeless state of a wandering ascetic bent upon solving the mystery of life. He spent some years in the study of philosophy and wandered from place to place. Then he settled at Uruvela, near Gaya. It was a pleasant spot in a beautiful forest, and the clear stream of Phalgu flowed through the meadows that surrounded it. Here he performed terrible austerities, kept long fasts and went through painful exercises to prepare himself for receiving enlightenment. He was reduced to a skeleton, but all his efforts to gain truth by asçeticism were unavailing. He then realised that mere austerities were useless. He gave them up and took to meditation and contemplation, and at last attained the knowledge which delivers man from suffering and brings peace and tranquillity to the mind. He became the Buddha—the enlightened.

From Uruvela Buddha came to Sarnath, near Benares, and began his ministry by preaching his first sermon there. He devoted the rest of his life to teaching, organising his Sangha and making converts. He died at the age of 80 at Kusinara. The last words which he addressed from his deathbed to his beloved disciple, Ananda, were "Do not weep. Have I not told you before, that it is the very nature of things most near and dear to us that we must part from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? All that is born, brought into being, and put together carries within itself the necessity of dissolution . . . . . You have done well, Ananda. Be earnest in effort and you, too, shall soon be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion and from ignorance." Buddha's teachings resemble those of Mahavira. Like him



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BUDDHA PREACHING FIRST SERMON.

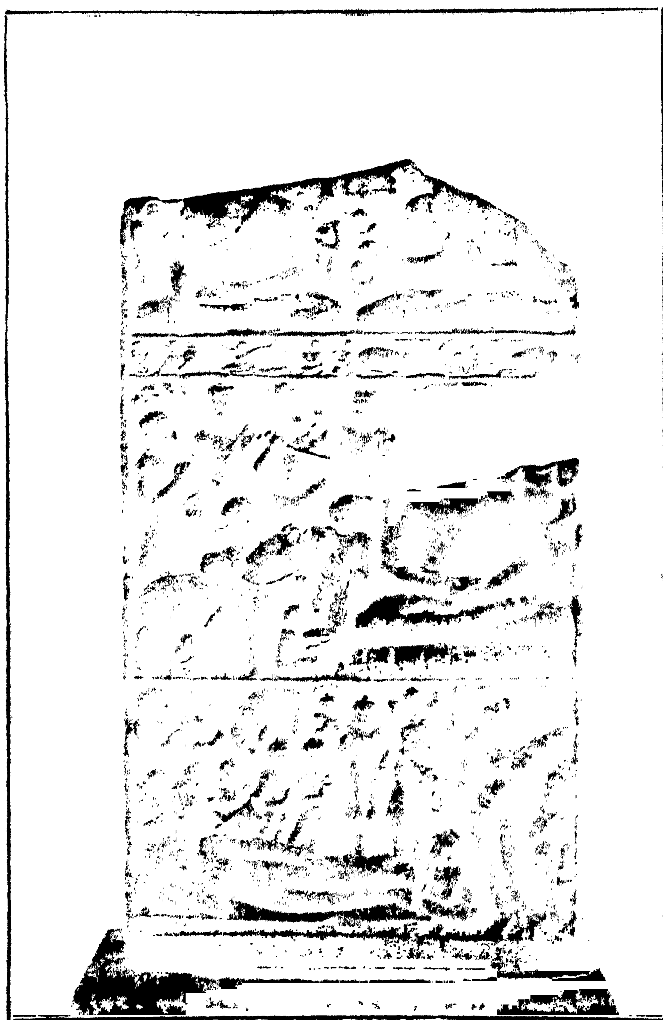
Sarnath Museum, Benares.

he also considered that the life of man in this world is full of misery and suffering, and the cause of this is selfishness. The only way of putting an end to this misery is to overcome desire by means of inner discipline. For when the cravings for sense gratification, for the pleasures of this world, and for immortality are overcome, man attains *Nirvana*—serenity of soul. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it."

Buddha rejected the asceticism and ritual taught by the Brahmans, and the efficacy of sacrifices. He did not recognise caste differences in the matter of religion, and taught that every one could obtain *Nirvana* or salvation. He used the spoken language of the common people to preach his gospel, and divided his followers into laymen and monks. He advised the former to carry on their usual pursuits, but laid down special rules of conduct for the latter, who were organised into an order (*Sangha*).

Buddha did not concern himself with speculation, and, therefore, ignored questions regarding the nature of God and the soul. He had a practical object in view, that is, the deliverance of man from suffering. In order to achieve this it was necessary to understand the truths about suffering, its cause and cure, and the path to its extinction. This path is known as the middle path, and the noble eightfold path (Aryan path). It consists of (1) right views, (2) right aspirations, (3) right speech, (4) right conduct, (5) right livelihood, (6) right effort, (7) right mindfulness, and (8) right rapture. The path does not prescribe any rites and dogmas, but shows that righteousness alone leads to emancipation (*Nirvana*).

Political Conditions.—Politically, India was divided at the commencement of the period into



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SCENES FROM BUDDHA'S LIFE.

Sarnath Museum, Benares.

numerous small states. They were gradually brought under the sway of a few rising powers. At the end of the period Alexander's conquests in the Punjab and the extension of Magadha dominion were leading to the establishment of a vast empire. The empire, however, did not destroy the tribal states which existed, but only made them dependent upon and subordinate to a central authority.

These free states were variously governed before they were absorbed. Some of them were ruled by kings and others were republics.

So far as the kings were concerned their power was becoming arbitrary during this period. The ancient institutions of *Sabha* and *Samiti* were losing their authority, and the only checks upon the will of the kings were dread of revolt in case of gross abuse of power, and the existence of numerous corporations, guilds and self-governing bodies with their own jurisdiction and bands of armed men.

In the republican tribes the Kshattriya or noble families composed the ruling corporation (*Gana*), and the heads of the families constituted the government.

The councils of the republic held frequent meetings in halls built for the purpose. The members of the councils were seated in accordance with their age and dignity; they conducted their deliberations and voted upon motions according to fixed rules.

Social Changes.—The first change that may be noticed is that the Aryan states are no longer purely tribal in character. The tribal names still denoted the states, but they were definitely located in territories which acquired the names of the tribes who had settled there.

In the second place, the rise of the principalities of the eastern regions is accompanied with a profound change in the structure of society. The power of the Kshattriya order receives a set-back in the midlands and the west, and the Brahmans acquire the preponderant influence in the social systems. Thus the literature—religious, legal and epic—which the Brahmans produced supports their unusual claims. They occupy the first place in society, and their position is determined by birth and not by actual performance of duties. They are the sole custodians of religion, social rank and purity. They lay down rules of marriage, dining, and touching—prohibiting them with low orders. While the denial of the authority of the *Veda* by the others leads to perdition, the Brahman is not tainted even though he commits sins, provided he repeats the sacred texts. The law deals with the individuals in accordance with their castes. The punishment for the same crimes is lighter for the higher and heavier for the lower castes, and the Brahmans receive the most favourable treatment. Even the rates of interest are fixed according to caste. The decay of the original Kshattriya clans brings mercenary soldiers on the scene, some of whom belong to the non-Aryan groups.

The decline of the military order, the establishment of inequalities, the rigidity of customs, and the decay in the spirit of independence led to the weakening of society, and encouraged the invasions of the Persians and the Greeks, and the rise of the empires. In the eastern regions, however, the Kshattriyas remained masters. Their clans had conquered and settled in countries which were occupied by aboriginal tribes. They gloried in their power and extended their dominion at the expense of

their neighbours. The warriors and merchants played the rôle of leaders in society. The Kshattriyas examined the religious beliefs of the Brahmans, and laid the foundations of new philosophies and religions which obtained the support of the rich merchants. In this manner the Jaina and Buddhist churches grew.

The castes were recognised and continued to flourish. But they were not rigidly separated or subdivided. Princes, Brahmans and Sethis sent their sons to the same teachers and even ate together and intermarried.

Economic Life.—Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. The land was owned by the village community, which paid to the king, in kind, a tithe on produce. The village community had an advanced sense of their duties and rights. They met together to carry on their affairs, built halls, rest-houses, tanks, laid out gardens and kept the roads in repair. The Brahmans and Kshattriyas did not consider it unworthy to cultivate their lands and engage in agriculture.

The arts and crafts were varied, and their number had much increased. Trade flourished, and the caravans of merchants going by land and by sea were common. The industries were localised in villages, and the trades in particular streets of the towns. Corporate life was abundant and well organised, for there were numerous guilds (*srenis*) of merchants and partnerships in craft and industry.

2 (a). The Mauryan Ascendancy, 325 B.C.—184 B.C.

Chandragupta Maurya.—The Nandas were a powerful dynasty who had extended their dominion over the whole of the Gangetic plain in the fourth century B.C. They possessed a large army and a well filled treasury. The last king of their line was occupying the

throne of Pataliputra when Alexander invaded India. He was a proud tyrant who had a wicked disposition. Chandragupta, who was a prince of the Maurya clan, made an attempt, with the help of Chanakya Brahman, to overthrow him. But he failed and fled to the camp of Alexander. On the retreat of Alexander from India, Chandragupta made an alliance with the chiefs of the Punjab and the Himalayan districts and invaded Magadha. Nanda was defeated and killed, and Chandragupta became king.

He was a warlike and energetic ruler, and he set about the conquest of the western regions. He annexed Malwa, Gujarat, Kathiawar and Sindh. Whether he crossed the Vindhyas and descended into the Konkan and marched further south is not certain. But his conquests in the west brought him into conflict with Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, who had been appointed ruler of the eastern dominions of the Macedonian empire. In 305 B.C. Seleukos crossed the Indus and was opposed by Chandragupta. The result of the war was that Seleukos was defeated, and he had to surrender all the Greek territories including Herat, Kandahar and Kabul valley in return for a safe retreat and a gift of five hundred elephants. He gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta. Later he sent Megasthenes as his ambassador to Chandragupta's court. The account which Megasthenes wrote of India and of the administration of Chandragupta has been preserved in the writings of the Greek historians, and is a source of our knowledge of these times.

Chandragupta died in 297 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Bindusara, who maintained intact the

dominions conquered by his father. He suppressed the revolts which were raised in Taxila and other places, and kept on friendly terms with the Greek rulers of the west. His reign lasted for about twenty-four years.

Asoka.—Asoka, the son of Bindusara, came to the throne in 274 B.C., but was actually crowned emperor four years later (270 B.C.). He assumed the title of "Devanampriya Priyadarsin," which means, "the gracious one who is beloved of the gods." During the first thirteen years of his rule he followed the policy of extending his empire within India and of maintaining peaceful relations with the rulers of the neighbouring countries.

In the twelfth year of his reign (262 B.C.) Asoka effected the conquest of Kalinga. The war was conducted with terrible violence and thousands of men were slain and enslaved. Kalinga was made a province of the empire, and a viceroy of the royal family was stationed at Tosali to govern it. The slaughter and suffering which were caused by the conquest made a deep impression upon the mind of Asoka. He renounced war, joined the Buddhist order as a lay disciple, and two and a half years later probably became a monk. From this time onwards, till his death, he devoted all his energies to spread the *Dharma*. He made religious tours, visited many places, held discussions and gave religious instruction. He employed the resources of a vast empire in establishing a reign of peace, piety and good will. He planted trees and constructed wells and rest-houses along the roads, and built hospitals for men and animals. He appointed special officers to preach religion, and sent missionaries to neighbouring nations. He propagated the

tenets of piety by inscribing them on rocks and pillars so that all could read them.

The first of his religious proclamations was issued in 259 B.C. In the next two years no fewer than sixteen such edicts were issued and inscribed in the distant parts of the empire. In these edicts,. principles for the guidance of the government and the people were laid down, regulations were made restricting the slaughter of animals for food, and the people were asked to show kindness towards relations and respect for Brahmans and teachers, to speak the truth, and to curtail rites and ceremonies.

Similar edicts were published even among the frontier peoples who were not subjects of the empire.

According to some traditions, in the twenty-first year of the reign, a council was held at Pataliputra, under the patronage of Asoka, to put an end to the differences which had arisen among the Buddhist teachers. After the council, missionaries were sent to Kashmir, Gandhara, Bactria, Southern India, Ceylon, and the kingdoms of the west ruled by the successors of Alexander. Asoka's son, Mahendra, and daughter, Sanghamitra, led the mission to Ceylon, and they succeeded in converting the king and the people of the island.

Asoka erected many monuments. He built *stupas* over the relics of the Buddha, and had cave-dwellings constructed for monks. Stone pillars at Delhi, Sarnath, Allahabad and other places were inscribed by his orders, and the Sudarsan tank at Junagarh was completed on his behalf. He is said to have founded the cities of Srinagar in Kashmir and Deo Patan in Nepal.

The Religion of Asoka.—Asoka was a zealous convert who took an active interest in the extension of

the *Dharma,* or the law of piety, and who personally exerted himself to propagate it. But Asoka was no bigot. He paid reverence to men of all sects. He really cared for the essence of faith, and, therefore,



ASOKA PILLAR, LAURIYA NANDANGARH.

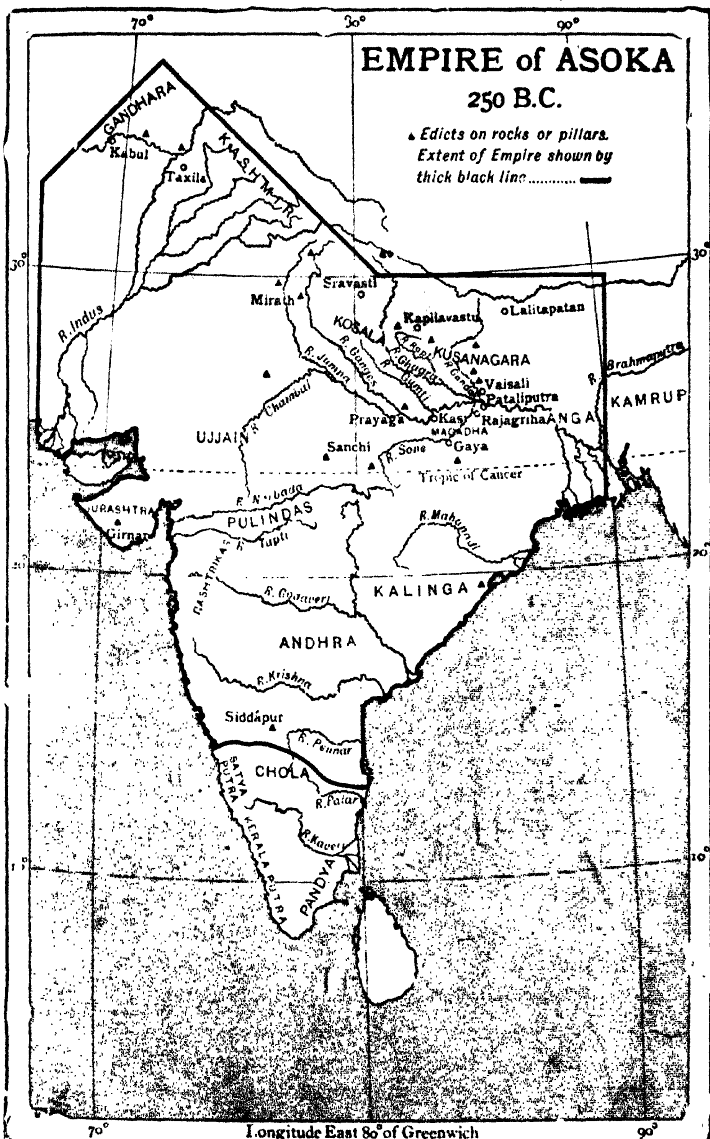
was tolerant towards all religions and desired to establish concord among them. He prohibited animal sacrifices and discouraged elaborate rites.

Extent of Empire.—The dominions over which the emperor ruled included Kashmir, the Himalayan

region, the northern plains (Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal) and Central India from sea to sea (Kathiawar, Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and Kalinga). The centre of the government was at Pataliputra, and under it were the viceroyalties of Takshashila, Ujjain, Tosali (Kalinga) and Suvarnagiri (Deccan). Beyond these were the border peoples who came under the sphere of influence of the empire. In the north-west were the Gandharas, Kambojas and Yavanas, and in the south the Rashtrikas, Maharashtras, Bhojas (Berar), Andhras (between Godavari and Krishna), and Pulindas (south of Malwa).

Thus the empire extended from the Hindukush on the north, to the Pennar river in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west, to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

Achievement and Character of Asoka.—Asoka is one of the greatest monarchs known to history. He is the only great ruler who abandoned war and military glory for the sake of conquest by the law of piety and for the establishment of human brotherhood. Whether Asoka joined the order of the Buddhist monks or not, he did not relinquish imperial authority. He was not a recluse and a dreamer. For twenty-eight years after his conversion he conducted the affairs of his vast empire with great zeal and ability. He showed how the way of living taught by the Buddha—the noble Aryan path—could be actually put into practice by a ruler of men for the welfare and uplift of his subjects. In the words of H. G. Wells, "amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, the name of Asoka shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine,


EMPIRE of ASOKA
250 B.C.
Edicts on rocks or pillars.
Extent of Empire shown by
thick black line
GANDHARA
Kabul
Taxila
KASHMIR
R. Indus
Sravasti
Mirath
KOSALA
Kapilavastu
oLalitapatan
KUSANAGARA
Vaisali
Pataliputra
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
R. Chambal
Prayaga
Kasi
Rajagriha
ANGA
MAGADHA
Gaya
R. Sone
Brahmaputra
KAMRUP
UJJAIN
Sanchi
Tropic of Cancer
SURASHTRA
Girnar
PULINDAS
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
RASHTRIKAS
R. Godaveri
KALINGA
ANDHRA
R. Krishna
Siddapur
R. Pennar
CHOLA
SATYA PUTRA
R. Palar
KERALA PUTRA
R. Kaveri
PANDYA
Longitude East 80° of Greenwich
Emery Walker sc.

preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

Successors of Asoka.—On the death of Asoka in 232 B.C. the Maurya empire began to decay rapidly, and, therefore, very little is known about his successors. His grandsons, Dasarath and Samprati, ruled over the eastern and western parts of the empire, and his son, Jalauka, over Kashmir. Samprati was apparently a Jaina who zealously promoted the Jaina religion. Jalauka was a Saiva.

The last ruler of the dynasty was Brihadratha who was slain by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga, on the occasion of a military review (about 185 B.C.). Petty Mauryan kings, however, continued to rule in Magadha and Western India till the seventh century A.D.

2 (b). The Social Conditions, 325 B.C.—184 B.C.

Society.—The Vedic social system began to break down in this period. The old free tribal organisation according to which the Kshattriya families ruled and fought, the Brahmans counselled and sacrificed, the Vaisyas engaged in economic pursuits and the Sudras practised crafts or served, was modified when the Aryans settled in the eastern regions. Here the Kshattriyas acquired domination and the Sudras formed the main part of the population.

The Brahmans and Vaisyas lost their importance and new untouchable classes became associated with society.

The new religions, which were founded by Kshattriya leaders and propagated by kings and noblemen, further

weakened the old organisation. The Vedic tribe was bound together by common worship and sacrifice. The new religions denounced the Vedic ritual and made the Brahman unnecessary. They placed great emphasis upon the monastic life and the practice of non-injury, and they created a feeling of indifference towards the military pursuits among the Kshattriyas.

Even among the peoples who did not condemn the Vedic religion, the rise of the sectarian cults of Siva, Vishnu and Bhagvata, similar tendencies were manifested.

Although neither Buddhism nor Jainism openly condemned the class divisions, the spirit underlying the old order based upon a fourfold division of men, where each performed its special function while remaining a part of the whole tribe, weakened.

The increase of wealth and the growth of trade and industry gave an impetus to changes in society. The Brahmans and the Kshattriyas together with other classes took to these economic pursuits, and along with the class organisation occupational organisations grew up. The corporations of merchants, artisans, traders and bankers multiplied, and as occupations tended to become hereditary, the foundations of the caste system were laid.

With the decline of the tribal organisation and the Vedic religion the era of small free states passed away. The wider economic outlook and the rise of universal religions strengthened the tendency towards larger political organisations.

Economic Life.—Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Land was divided into three parts; one part was under cultivation, another served as

pasture for cattle, and the third remained forest. The king owned the land. He was entitled to a part of the produce as revenue, and he could replace one cultivator by another. The cultivator had the right to sub-divide his portion or to sell it. The cultivators formed the bulk of the population, and the higher classes obtained assignments of revenue from the king.

Trade and industry were regulated by the state, which fixed the prices of articles, maintained the standards of weights and measures and levied octrois and duties. The kings patronised arts and crafts, and employed skilled workmen in their workshops. The traders, artisans, bankers and others formed guilds and corporations which regulated the methods of production and business, and defended the members and their activities by maintaining soldiers.

Maurya Administration.—The Sisunaga and Nanda kings had built up a large empire, the Mauryas extended its frontiers to include practically the whole of India from the Hindukush to Mysore.

The vast dominions over which the Mauryas held sway were inhabited by peoples possessing various degrees of autonomy. The Gandharas, Kambojas and Yavanas of the north-west, the Rashtrikas, Bhojas, Andhras and Pulindas of the south were semi-independent. There were many border peoples and some regions in the heart of the empire which were not completely under the rule of the Mauryas. The empire consisted of many kingdoms and peoples, and the emperor was the head of a great confederation of states which recognised his supremacy, but which were independent in their internal administration and civil government. " He was the link which bound together in association for peace or

war powers which were the natural rivals of one another."

It was not possible to govern this empire in accordance with the principles of administration of small states. The empire had been built up by conquest and held together by force. The old checks upon the authority of the ruler were no longer operative, and the emperor was, therefore, an autocrat in whom the entire authority of the state centred. An elaborate machinery of government was devised which administered the affairs of the empire by means of departments and boards.

The emperor stood at the head of the government. He was the guardian of the social order. It was his duty to protect life and property, to promote agriculture and industry, to maintain the poor and the sick, to encourage education, to deal out justice and administer the law.

Great precautions were naturally taken to protect the life of the king, and for this purpose a bodyguard of women (Yavanis) was maintained.

The central government consisted of a number of ministers and officials of high rank who worked under the direction of the emperor.

The great officers formed a council (*mantri-parishad*) which gave advice on the administration of the empire. The council was a deliberative body, for the decisions were made by the king alone. In all urgent business the king consulted only the most trusted of his officials.

Under the ministers were numerous officials who worked in the departments concerned with the different branches of the administration. Those of the highest rank were known as *Mahamatras*, and below them were *Rajukas*, *Yutas* and *Rajpurushas*.

The empire was divided into five regions. The north-western region had its capital at Takshashila (Taxila), the western at Ujjain, the eastern at Tosali, the southern at Suvarnagiri, and the central at Pataliputra. Each region was governed by a viceroy, except the central where the emperor ruled directly. The viceroys were usually princes of the royal family, and they were assisted by *Pradeshikas*. Each region consisted of a number of territories or *janapadas*. The *janapadas* were divided into *ganas* or *sthanas* (districts), and *ganas* into *gramas* (villages).

The *janapada* was the unit of administration. The *Samaharta* was the head of its revenue and police administration. He had under him *Sthanikas* and *Gopas*. The *Gramikas* performed similar duties in the villages.

At the head of the city was an official called *Nagaraka*. Six boards of five members each were in charge of its administration. The boards looked after the sanitation of the city, protected it from fire, maintained peace, kept the census, cared for the foreigners, supervised arts, industries and commerce and collected duties and octrois.

The department of irrigation was in charge of a number of officials. They controlled the rivers, measured the land for irrigation and supplied water in accordance with the needs of the cultivators. Other officials were in charge of the building and repairs of roads.

The administration of justice was one of the most important functions of the state. The king was regarded as the fountain of justice and was the highest judge in the realm. He personally received complaints and decided appeals. Law courts, over which judges

presided, were established for the territorial divisions of the empire.

To maintain an impartial administration of justice the judges were liable to trial by superior courts, and to punishments of fine and dismissal.



BOYS ARMED AS SOLDIERS.
From Vincent Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
By permission of the Oxford University Press.

The criminal courts tried those who were accused of crimes. They followed a simple and summary method of trial; in some cases they used ordeals, and inflicted heavy and cruel punishments like torture, mutilation and death.

The laws followed in the courts were of several kinds. In the first place were the sacred laws (*Dharma*), secondly, rules based upon agreement, thirdly, customs and, lastly, the edicts of the king.

The empire was held together by a highly organised army which protected the country from foreign invaders and maintained internal peace and order. It comprised four kinds of troops, the hereditary soldiers or Kshattriyas

of the Maurya clan and of their dependent chiefs, the hired troops, the contingents maintained by the corporations and the forest tribes. It had four arms—elephants, horses, chariots and infantry. Doctors and nurses were employed in the army to treat the sick and the wounded.

A naval force was maintained to protect the coastal regions and rivers from enemies and pirates and to collect customs.

The various departments of the army and the navy were administered by six boards, each of which consisted of five members.

An elaborate organisation of the spies who sent reports from the most distant corners of the empire, and in regard to all administrative and other affairs, was maintained. By means of this secret service the emperor kept the closest watch upon the activities of both officials and subjects.

Art.—The monuments of Mauryan art which have come down to the present day consist of stupas, pillars and caves. Of the stupas, the one at Sanchi was probably built by Asoka. Asoka also erected a number of stone pillars. The shaft of the pillar was made out of a single piece of stone and the capital was beautifully carved. Of these pillars those of Sarnath and Lauriya-Nandangarh are the finest examples. There are others at Allahabad, Delhi, and other places. A series of caves were excavated out of living rock for the residence of monks. They are situated in the Bharabar Hills, near Gaya. Their interior walls are burnished like mirrors, and they are " wonderful monuments of patient skill and infinite labour." The palaces built by the Mauryas have completely disappeared. But when the Chinese traveller,

Fa-Hien, visited India they were still standing. He was so struck by their magnificence and beauty that he thought they were not made by human hands but by spirits.

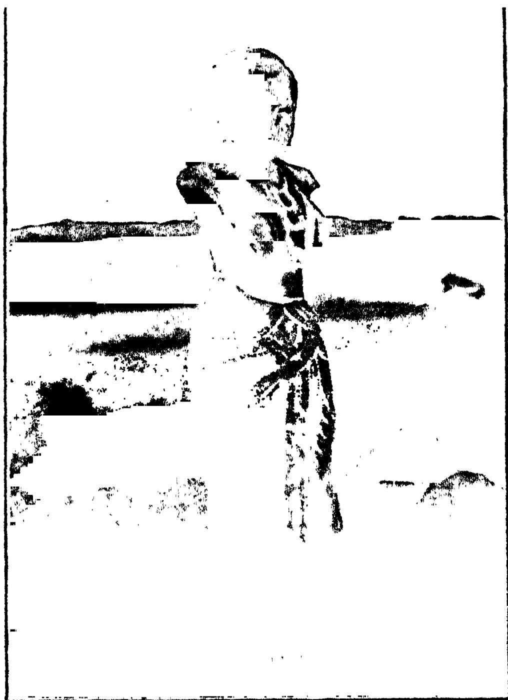
3 (a). The Brahman Empire and the Yavanas, 184 B.C.—27 B.C.

The overthrow of the Mauryas in 185 B.C. produced great confusion in India. It opened an era of internal strife and foreign invasion which lasted for nearly five hundred years, from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The Maurya empire broke up, and in the early part of this period for nearly a century and a half (184 B.C. to 27 B.C.), four great powers contended for supremacy over India. They were:—(1) the Sungas and Kanvas in the centre, (2) the Satavahanas in the Deccan, (3) the Chetas in the east, and (4) the Yavana (Indo-Bactrian) princes in the west and the north-west. The dynasties which ruled over the middle country and the Deccan were Brahman, and those of the north and west Yavana or Greek, and the period is filled with the struggle of the Brahmans and the Yavanas.

Sungas and Kanvas.—Pushyamitra Sunga, the commander-in-chief of the Mauryas who slew Brihadratha, was a feudatory ruler of Eastern Malwa (Vidisa). He was a Brahman and a staunch follower of the ancient Vedic religion. He ruled at Pataliputra for nearly 36 years (184—149 B.C.). He had to wage wars with the Satavahanas over the possession of Vidarbha whose prince was their dependant, and his son, Agnimitra, won a victory over them. He had also to fight against the Yavanas who had overrun the Punjab and raided the midland country. His grandson, Vasumitra, inflicted a defeat upon them. In order to

celebrate his success he performed the horse sacrifice, which only great suzerains (*Chakravartis*) were authorised to perform.

On the death of Pushyamitra his son and grandson ascended the throne in succession, and they were



COLOSSAL TEMPLE STATUE FROM BESNAGAR.

succeeded by a number of kings. Devabhuti, the tenth king, was a dissolute prince. He was assassinated at the instance of Vasudeva Kanva, his chief minister, and the power passed into the hands of the Brahman

minister of the Kanva family. In the last quarter of the first century B.C., the Sunga-Kanva rule was brought to an end by the Satavahanas.

Feudatories of the Sungas.—When the Sungas came into power the empire which the Mauryas had built up was already declining. The central region which accepted the suzerainty of the Sungas was divided into a number of semi-independent principalities. Malwa alone was directly ruled by them. Of these principalities some were under kings, for instance, the Vatsas of Kausambi and Bharhut, the Panchalas of Ahichhatra, the Sursenas of Mathura, and the Kosalas of Ayodhya. Others like the Kshattriyas of the Punjab, the Yaudheyas and the Arjunayanas of Rajputana were republican, and there were tribal chiefs who ruled in the Himalayan region from Kulu to Nepal.

Chetas.—In the eastern regions the Kalingas, who occupied the valley of the Mahanadi, had asserted their independence. Their rulers belonged to the Cheta dynasty which traced its lineage from the Chedis of Kausambi. The third king of the line was Kharavela, whose exploits are inscribed in the Hathigumpha or Elephant Cave on the Udayagiri hills, near Cuttack. He was an ambitious king who patronised the Jaina religion. On two occasions he invaded the Satavahana dominions in the Deccan, and raided Berar and Maharashtra. He invaded Magadha also and compelled its local ruler to flee to Mathura. He was probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga, and of Satakarni, the king of the western regions. Nothing is known about his successors.

The Yavanas.—In the north-western regions, the provinces of the Mauryan empire were conquered by the Yavana princes of Bactria. These princes belonged to

two houses, one of Euthydemus and the other of Eukratides, who divided between themselves the kingdom of Bactria including the conquered provinces of India. The line of Euthydemus ruled the Punjab from Sialkot (Sagala). The greatest prince of their dynasty was Menander who accepted the Buddhist faith. His name is associated with a famous Buddhist treatise known as *Milindpanho*, or the questions of *Milinda* (Menander). The princes of this line carried their incursions into the midland countries, but were repelled by the Sunga forces. They wrested the Eastern Punjab from the empire and continued to rule there until they were overthrown by the Sakas in the middle of the first century B.C.

The successors of Eukratides made themselves masters of the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab. Their dominions extended over Kapisa (Afghanistan) and Gandhara (Taxila and Pushkalvati). The ambassadors of these princes visited the country of the Sunga rulers, and one of them, Heliodorus, who was a follower of the Bhagvata religion, erected a column of stone at Besnagar (Bhilsa) in honour of Krishna Vasudeva. Their kingdom was conquered by the Sakas in the first quarter of the first century B.C. (75 B.C.).

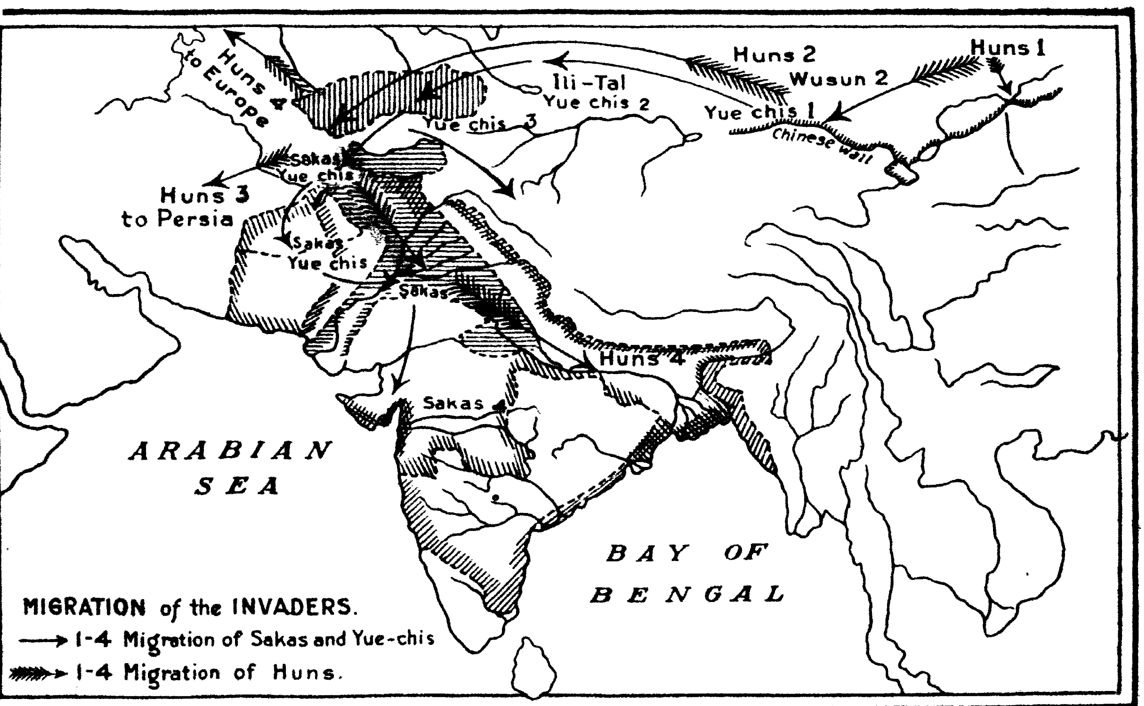
The Early Satavahanas.—The Satyaputras are mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka as dwelling in the western regions. They founded a kingdom in Maharashtra and made Paithan (Pratishthan) on the Godavari its capital. The name of the first ruler of the dynasty was Simuka Satavahana. The rulers were Brahmans by caste, and they gloried in having humiliated the Kshattriyas whose empire had tended to bring about a mixing of castes. They revived the Vedic religion and performed the Vedic sacrifices.

Satakarni, the third king, was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. He conquered Ujjain and repulsed the attacks of Kharavela. He performed the Asvamedha (horse) sacrifice.

After him the Satavahana kings continued to rule over the Western Deccan and Eastern Malwa, and about 28 B.C. they put an end to the empire of the Kanvas.

The Sakas and Pahlavas.—The Sakas or Scythians were a nomad people who inhabited the regions beyond the Amu (Syr) river. About the middle of the second century B.C. they were driven across the river, and they occupied Bactria. The Greek rulers of Kabul prevented their entrance into Afghanistan. They were obliged to migrate west into the Herat territory, and then into Seistan and Kandahar. Later they pushed through Baluchistan into the Punjab, conquered the Indus valley, the north-western Punjab including Taxila and Peshawar, and the western Indian regions from Kathiawar to Mathura.

The Sakas who settled in these regions acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pahlava kings of Persia, and ruled as their feudatories. The names of the suzerains and the feudatories appeared together on their coins. The first definite name in the list of the rulers is that of the great king Moga (Maues) who brought Yavana rule to an end in the Punjab. He flourished about the last quarter of the first century B.C. His successor was Azes I, who was also a powerful monarch. The fifth ruler of the line was Gondophares, who was probably on the throne between A.D. 19 and 45. The Saka-Pahlava rule in the Punjab was overthrown by the Kushanas soon after 45 A.D.


Huns 1
Huns 2
Wusun 2
Yue chis 1
Chinese wall
Ili-Tal
Yue chis 2
Yue chis 3
Huns 4
to Europe
Sakas
Yue chis
Huns 3
to Persia
Sakas
Yue chis
Sakas
Huns 4
Sakas
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
MIGRATION of the INVADERS.
1-4 Migration of Sakas and Yue-chis
1-4 Migration of Huns.

3 (b). The Condition of the People, 184 B.C.—27 B.C.

Society.—The overthrow of the Maurya ascendancy led to the revival of the Brahmanic social and religious systems. The Sungas and the Kanvas were both Brahman dynasties. It was natural that their rule should encourage the importance of the Brahmans in society. The great code of Hindu laws known as the *Manu Smriti* was compiled during this period. It laid down the duties of man in his various stations—as a member of the family, of the caste and of the state. It recognised eight kinds of marriage, but prohibited the marriage of widows. The position which women hold in the code is not high. The code recognises a large number of castes which are the result of mixed marriages between members of the different castes. There were other causes, too, for the increase of castes, for instance, the occupational groups were becoming hereditary castes, and the foreign people who entered India during this period, and who had become Hinduised, formed castes of their own; for it was possible in those times for Yavanas and Sakas to adopt the religion and social customs of the Hindus.

Religions.—Buddhism was the popular religion, but it was undergoing change. The council of Pataliputra in 242 B.C. saw the first division among the Buddhists. Then other schools and sects appeared among them.

Jainism was expanding in the north and the south, in Gujarat and in the Tamil lands. The Jainas were divided into two sects, Svetambaras and Digambaras.

The Hindu religion also shows a growth similar to that of the others. The orthodox remained faithful to the Vedic gods and rites, but a number of sects arose

which exalted one God above the others. They made Him the object of personal devotion, and used rites of non-Vedic origin. Among the sects the most important were the worshippers of Vishnu and Siva. Under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism animal sacrifices began to be disliked. The modes of worship followed in these religions were similar and required the building of temples containing relics and images, and of monasteries and rest-houses for monks. These religions attracted the attention of the Yavanas and Sakas who had settled in India, and their princes and peoples became converts to them, *e.g.*, Menander became a Buddhist and Heliodorus a Vaishnava Bhagvata.

Arts.—The Mauryas had begun building stupas with railings round them. But their works were plain and simple. During this period a number of monuments were erected, but they were adorned with beautiful sculptures on the rails, posts and gates. Among these the most remarkable are at Bharhut (near Satna, between Allahabad and Jubbulpore), Sanchi (near Bhopal) and Buddha Gaya. The carvings on these buildings represent scenes from the life of the Buddha, and illustrate the legends and miracles connected with his life.

Besides displaying wonderful skill in workmanship, they are extremely interesting as mirrors of the social and religious life of those times. The art is natural and humane, full of humour and fancy. It depicts a gay, happy and care-free life, and looks upon the world not as a place of misery and suffering but as full of enjoyment.

Many churches, temples and monasteries were erected or dug out of hills in many parts of India,

e.g., Orissa, Mathura, Nasik, Karli, etc. The caves and temples were decorated with paintings on the walls and ceilings. Those of the earliest caves at Ajanta are famous all over the world.



Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India

SANCHI EAST GATE, DEPICTING THE RETURN TO KAPILAVASTU.

4 (a). The Satavahanas and the Sakas, 27 B.C.—300 A.D.

General Conditions in India.—The later Satavahanas ruled over the Deccan and carried on a

constant struggle against the Sakas, who had established themselves in the north-western parts of India. The Kushanas, a Scythian race, held sway from Bukhara in Central Asia to Benares on the Ganges, and the Sakas acknowledged them as their suzerain. Of the other parts of India little is known during this period.

The Satavahanas.—The Kanva empire was brought to an end by a Satavahana king whose dominion extended over the Deccan from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and included Berar and Malwa. But the success of the rulers of the Deccan brought them into conflict with the Saka-Pahlavas, who were rapidly overrunning the western regions and the eastern uplands of the central plateau during the first century B.C. The Kshaharatas, who were a Saka dynasty, seized the principalities of Malwa, Berar and Konkan, and Nahapana, a prince of this dynasty, became master of Maharashtra after depriving the Satavahanas of their western territories. But the Saka-Pahlavas were overthrown by the Kushans, and then the Satavahanas found the opportunity to recover their lost dominion.

Of the Satavahanas of this period very little is known. The name of Hala, with whom an anthology of old Marathi poems (*saptasati*) is associated, is known. The next important king is Gautamiputra Satakarni who attacked the Kshaharatas. He extirpated their dynasty and re-established his power over Maharashtra. The provinces of Berar, Eastern and Western Malwa, Kathiawar, and North Konkan were re-occupied, and the boundaries of the Satavahana kingdom extended from the Vindhyas to the Travancore hills, and from sea to sea. Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumayi, who was a successor of Gautamiputra, married the


INDIA
Satavahanas, Sakas, Kushans.
BACTRIA
KHOTAN
Kapisa
HINDU KUSH MTS.
Gandhara
Haviskapura
Pushkalavati
KASHMIR
R. Kubha
Taxila
Kanishkapura
Purushapura
Manikyala
ARACHOSIA
R. Vitasta
R. Asikni
Sagala
R. Parusni
R. Satudri
R. Sindhu
R. Saraswati
INDO-PARTHIANS
KUSHANS
NEPALA
R. Brahmaputra
R. Yamuna
R. Gumti
Kapilavastu
Saketa
R. Gogra
R. Gandak
Mathura
Kanauj
R. Ganges
Ayodhya
DAVAKA
Kausambi
Prayag
Kasi
Pataliputra
Sakadvipa
WESTERN SATRAPS
MALWA
Sanchi
Vidisa
R. Son
Buddha Gaya
Ujjayini
SAURASHTRA
Tamralipti
ABHIRAS
R. Narmada
Girnar
Bharukachcha
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
ORISSA.K.
SATAVAHANAS
Nasik
Sopara
R. Godavari
Paithan
Udayagiri
Tagara
KALINGA.K.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Vengipura
Dhanyakataka
R. Krishna
R. Tungabhadra
Vaijayantu
R. Kaveri
Kanchi
Madura
LANKA

daughter of Rudradaman, the great satrap of the Sakas. But Rudradaman did not spare his son-in-law, whom he defeated twice. His successor, Yajna Sri Satavahana, who was king in the latter part of second century A.D., continued the struggle against the Saka satraps, inflicted defeats upon them, and recovered some of the territories seized by Rudradaman. He ruled over Maharashtra in the west and Andhra territories in the east, and his coins seem to indicate that he had command of sea forces too.

The Satavahana power came to an end in the Western Deccan after the death of Yajna Sri. The later kings of the dynasty ruled in the Krishna and Godavari districts with Dhanakatak (Amravati) as their capital during the third century A.D.

The Downfall of the Satavahanas.—The causes of the decline of the power of the Satavahanas are not well understood. All that can be said is that in the first place their struggle with the Sakas undoubtedly exhausted their strength, secondly their military viceroys, who governed over the provinces, gradually asserted their independence, and in the third place new tribes, clans and families seized parts of their dominions. The struggle with the Sakas had led to the passing of certain parts of the Western Deccan into their hands as has been described above. The rest of the Satavahana empire was divided into provinces under feudatory governors who bore the titles of *Maharathis*, *Mahasenapatis*, etc. Some of them belonged to the Naga race and one of their family was known as Chutus. The Chutus ruled at Banavasi, and to them were related the Pallavas who held authority in the South-eastern Deccan. During the middle of the third century the Nagas, Chutus and Pallavas replaced the Satavahanas. During the same

Sakas retained possession of Ujjain (Malwa) and Surashtra (Kathiawar) only.

Among the satraps of Ujjain the first noted ruler was Nahapana Kshaharata. He had the whole of Western India and Maharashtra under his sway. Ajmer, Nasik, Poona and Mandsor were included in his dominions. He waged many wars, but was ultimately defeated by Gautamiputra Satakarni who drove the Sakas out of Maharashtra. After the overthrow of the Kshaharatas another family of satraps rose into prominence in Western India. Chashtana and his son, Jayadaman, founded the power of this family, but Rudradaman I extended it in all directions. He was a learned prince who made an alliance with the Satavahanas by marrying his daughter to Raja Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumayi or to his successor, Vasishthiputra Satakarni. He was a great conqueror whose dominion extended over Eastern and Western Malwa, Southern Rajputana, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Northern Konkan and a portion of Central India. He twice defeated his son-in-law, and deprived the Satavahanas of the western part of their dominions. The Abhiras at the end of the second century A.D. overran his dominions. But his successors continued to rule in Surashtra till they were overthrown by the Guptas in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

The Kushans.—The Kushans were a section of the great horde of nomadic Scythians who lived in ancient times, in the north-western province of the Chinese empire. The horde was known to the Chinese by the name of Yueh-Chi. In the second century B.C. they were forced to migrate westwards. On their march they defeated the Sakas, who occupied the

territory north of the Jaxartes river, and ultimately came into the valley of the Oxus where they settled down. Here they were divided into five sections or principalities, but in the beginning of the first century A.D. the Kushan principality, under the chieftaincy of Kadphises, succeeded in establishing its superiority over the others. They were at this time occupying the country north of the Hindukush mountains.

Kadphises crossed the mountains and conquered Kabul and Gandhara from the Yavanas and Pahlavas. The son of Kadphises, who is known as Wema-Kadphises, extended Kushan dominion over Northern India, sweeping away the Pahlava and Saka rulers from the Punjab, Rajputana and the Indus valley. Wema ruled over a vast empire and had relations with China and Rome.

On his death Kanishka succeeded to the throne. He was a warlike prince, who conquered Kashmir and Kashghar, Yarkand, and Khotan, which lay north of Tibet. He fought many wars with the rulers of India, Parthia and China. The territories over which he held sway included Eastern Turkestan, Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Punjab, the Midlands, Rajputana and Sindh. The satraps of Ujjain also acknowledged his suzerainty. He made Peshawar his capital, where he erected a great stupa when he was converted to Buddhism.

Kanishka, like Asoka, is said to have been overtaken with remorse at the shedding of blood during his wars. He repented and became a convert to Buddhism. He held a council of the Buddhists of the northern lands in order to ascertain and fix the true doctrine, because there were many conflicting opinions prevailing at that time. The assembly met at Kundalavana in Kashmir, and

completed the work of preparing commentaries on the *Tripitaka*.

Kanishka reigned for nearly forty-five years and was followed by Huvishka, who was succeeded by Vasudeva. Huvishka seemed to patronise both Buddhism and Hinduism, and Vasudeva, who ruled from Mathura, was a follower of Saivism in the third century. After Vasudeva's death the power of the Kushans declined. Abhiras, Nagas and other tribes became powerful in the southern Punjab, and the Kushans were left in possession of Kabul and the north-western Punjab only.

4 (b). The Condition of the People, 27 B.C.—300 A.D.

Society.—The social system of the Hindus does not show much change. The triumph of the Brahmans only meant that the organisation of castes received support from the state. Besides the four castes many sub-castes were well established on the basis of occupation. The Kshattriyas find little mention in the documents of the times, but the other three castes are well represented. The Brahmans received the highest respect. The castes were not rigidly isolated in matters of marriage. A Satavahana king, who was probably a Brahman, married the daughter of the Saka satrap, Rudradaman. Marriages between *Gahapatis* (Vaisyas) and *Halakiya* (Sudras) were not unknown. The foreigners were freely accepted into the fold of society. The Sakas, who were converted to Hinduism, had Brahmans of their own who were called Sakadvipi Brahmans.

In the Deccan, society was divided into several ranks. The feudatory nobles known as *Maharathis*, *Mahabhojas* and *Mahasenapatis* belonged to the highest rank. Next to them were royal officers in charge of the districts and

of the land revenue collection, mayors of cities and masters of guilds of merchants and bankers.

Writers, physicians, cultivators, goldsmiths and



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KANISHKA'S RELIC CASKET.

druggists came next. Carpenters, gardeners, blacksmiths, and fishermen formed the lowest class.

Religion.—Among the Buddhists the two sects of Mahayana (the Great Vehicle) and Hinayana (the Little

Vehicle) were definitely recognised. The Mahayanist doctrine and cult was much influenced by Hinduism. In one sect of the Mahayanists the Buddha is given the position of the supreme God, in another he is represented as living in paradise in infinite glory. He helps all those who worship him with devotion to attain the state of bliss.

The Mahayanist worship consists of processions, and rites with music and incense in the temples containing the images of the Buddha and the saints. This sect arose in the time of Kanishka and spread in the northern countries.

The Hinayanists mainly belonged to Ceylon and retained the original simplicity of the faith.

The Jainas imitated the forms of the Buddhist worship. Stupas, temples and images of Tirthakaras were used. The spread of Jainism in the Tamil lands led to the development of a rich literature in the Tamil language.

The Hindu religion was growing in popularity. The Satavahanas and the other kings performed the ancient *Asvamedha* sacrifice, and distributed large sums in fees to the priests. The worship of Siva was more prevalent, though that of Bhagavata and Vishnu was also practised

There was no persecution of any religion, and complete toleration was observed. The kings and nobles patronised the Buddhist monks and Brahmans equally. Nor did change of religion involve loss of caste.

The Hindu form of worship, like that of the others, required temples and images.

Economic Life.—The period of Satavahana ascendancy was one of great prosperity. Trade and industry flourished, and coins of gold, silver and copper

formed the currency. Indian merchandise was carried to China in the east, and to Rome and its provinces in the west. The country exported precious stones, pearls, spices, cottons, silks and muslins and received in return gold, linen and metals.

The merchants, craftsmen and bankers had their associations or guilds, which managed their affairs and possessed self-government. The cities had their corporations with their own presidents, councils, registrars, etc.

Political Conditions.—The country was governed by kings who were assisted by their ministers. They were autocratic, but they had much regard for the feelings and welfare of the people. The country was divided into provinces (*desa*), provinces into districts (*ahara*), and districts into sub-divisions (*pathaka*).

The feudatory nobles (*Maharathis*, etc.) and the royal princes governed the provinces; the district officers and the revenue collectors (*Amatyas, Bhandagarikas*) ruled over districts, and the *Gopas* over sub-divisions. The *Sreshthis* presided over the town corporations, and the *Gramani* discharged the duties of the heads of villages.

Art.—In Gandhara the Yavanas developed a new style of sculpture. They applied Greek forms to Buddhist subjects, and were the first to make an image of the Buddha which became the model for all subsequent images. The art of the Gandhara school exerted some influence at Mathura which was for a long time under foreign rule. But at Sarnath, Amravati and other places Indians followed their own traditions and evolved their own forms.

Literature.—The Prakrits were used by the kings in their inscriptions and other documents. They were

also the media of religious thought, as the sacred books of the Jainas and the Buddhists were composed in them, for example, the *Milindapanho* and the *Gathas*. One form of the Prakrit, *i.e.*, the old Marathi, was used for the first time in the anthology of verses associated with king Hala, and in the collection of stories known as the *Brihatkatha* compiled by his minister Gunadhya.

Sanskrit was the speech of the learned, specially among the Hindus. It was widely known and spoken, and even during this period it began to be used for state purposes. Not only were the Hindu religious and philosophical works composed in it, but the Buddhists and Jainas also began to employ it. The literary, scientific and technical treatises were written in Sanskrit.

Nagarjuna and Asvaghosh, who were great Buddhist writers, lived in these times. The first was a great philosopher, and the second both a philosopher and a poet. Asvaghosh composed a life of the Buddha and a number of dramas.

The Indians of this period were an adventurous people. Their merchants visited all parts of the world, carrying Indian commodities to Africa, Europe and countries to the east, west and north. Indian missionaries propagated Hinduism and Buddhism wherever their merchants went. Indian scholars translated books from Prakrit and Sanskrit into Chinese, and other languages. Indian culture spread to all parts of Asia.

Indian settlers built up a vast colonial empire in south-eastern Asia. They first appeared in Burma and Siam. In the first or second century A.D. the Hindu kingdom of Champa was established in South Siam, and

at about the same time Cambodia, Java, the Malaya peninsula, the islands of Sumatra, Bali and Borneo were colonised.

Indians also settled in Central Asia, in Khotan and in the lands of Eastern Turkestan. Documents written in Indian characters and Indian languages, figures of the Buddhist gods and goddesses and other remains are found scattered amidst these deserts in the towns buried under sand. Indian colonies existed in Mesopotamia, Alexandria on the mouth of the Nile and in East Africa.

5 (a). The Ascendancy of the North, 300—800 A.D.

From the downfall of the Satavahanas of the Deccan to the death of Harsha, Northern India was united under the political supremacy of the Guptas and the Vardhanas. At the same time the Deccan, which in the beginning of the period was divided into numerous principalities, eventually recognised the ascendancy of the Chalukyas. In the south the Pallavas gradually established their power at the expense of their neighbours in the Tamil land. The Huna invasions created political disturbances, but they were resisted successfully, and the Hunas were absorbed in the Indian population.

This period is one of the most brilliant in the cultural history of India. It saw the disappearance of Buddhism, the decay of Jainism, and the triumph of Hinduism in India. Art, literature, science and philosophy flourished greatly and India attained unprecedented prosperity and glory.

The Guptas.—For over three hundred years after the extinction of the Kanva dynasty, Magadha

remained in obscurity. In the beginning of the fourth century, out of the many petty local rajas one gained prominence. He was Chandragupta, who married a princess belonging to the ancient Lichchhavi clan, and laid the foundation of the greatness of his dynasty. He extended his dominion as far west as Allahabad,



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INTERIOR OF KARLI CAVE.

assumed the title of Maharajadhiraj and established a new era in A.D. 320.

Samudragupta, 330—375 A.D.—Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. He was an ambitious prince who desired to make his kingdom supreme. In the early years of his reign he led an

expedition into the Eastern Deccan. From Pataliputra he marched towards the south and conquered South Kosala. Then crossing the forests of Central India and the Mahanadi river, he reached the coast of Orissa and captured the towns and ports in the Godavari and Krishna districts. Then he reached Kanchi on the Palar river where Vishnugopa, the Pallava king, was ruling. He defeated the princes of the eastern Deccan, but restored them to their principalities and returned to his capital. Then he turned his attention to the chieftains ruling in the Gangetic valley, and incorporated their territories in his kingdom. The chiefs of the forest tribes in the Vindhyas made their submission, and the northern parts of the Vakataka territories were annexed. The boundaries of the dominions over which he held sway extended from the Brahmaputra in the east to the Jumna and the Chambal in the west; and from the Himalayas in the north to the Narbada in the south.

The successes of Samudragupta so deeply impressed the princes and peoples beyond his dominions that many of them paid him homage and tribute. Among them were the republican tribes of the Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa, the ruling chiefs in East Bengal and Assam, and the hill states of Kumaon, Garhwal and Kangra. He received embassies from the Kushan kings of Kabul and the Buddhist king of Ceylon.

In order to proclaim his triumphs he celebrated the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, made generous gifts to the Brahmans and struck a special issue of his coinage.

Samudragupta was a man of extraordinary abilities. He was a great general who achieved many successes, and was a capable statesman who maintained peace,

order and prosperity in the vast empire which he had conquered. He took much delight in the arts of poetry and music which he practised with skill, and he possessed a keen and intelligent interest in philosophy and religion. He died after a reign which lasted nearly fifty years.

Chandragupta II, 375—415 A.D.—His immediate successor was Ramagupta, who reigned for only two years. Then Chandragupta Vikramaditya married his brother's wife, and succeeded to the throne. He was as ambitious as his father, and equally capable. In order to accomplish his aims of conquest he first entered into an alliance with the Vakataka ruler of the Deccan, who occupied the territories in Bundelkhand. He gave his daughter in marriage to the king of the Deccan and obtained his support. He then turned his attention to the conquest of the western regions. The last of the Saka satraps was defeated and slain, and Malwa, Gujarat and Surashtra were annexed. The empire thus gained not only rich and fertile territories, but also the commerce of the towns on the sea coast.

Vikramaditya made Ujjain the second capital of the empire, and Ayodhya one of the headquarters of his government.

Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India during this reign and remained in India from 405 to 411. He bears testimony to the wealth, prosperity and happiness of the people, and the tolerance, good government and humane rule of the emperor.

The military triumphs of Chandragupta II, and his patronage of arts and letters have made him the hero of popular imagination, and innumerable legends have grown round the memory of his glorious reign. His

GUPTA EMPIRE

under

Chandragupta Vikramaditya

about 400 A.D.

Expedition of Samudragupta shown by arrows thus:-

70° 80° 90°

30° 20° 10°

UDYANA
GANDHARA
Taxila
KASHMIR
KARTRIPURA
MADRAKA
YAUHEYAS
R. Sindhu
PROTECTED TRIBES
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
NEPAL
Lalitapatan
KAMRUP
GUPTA EMPIRE
Mathura
Ayodhya
KOSALA
R. Ghagra
Vaisali
Pataliputra
R. Brahmaputra
KAMRUP
SINDH
WESTERN
R. Chambal
Prayag
Kasi
Nalanda
DAVAKA
Bhilsa
Sanchi
R. Sone
Bodhgaya
CHAMPA
GUJARAT
VANGA
Tropic of Cancer
MALWA
Ujjain
R. Narmada
SOURASHTRA
Girnar
Junagarh
R. Mahanadi
ODRA (Orissa)
R. Tapti
ERANDAPALLA
MAHA KOSALA
Nasik
DEVA RASHTRA
R. Godaveri
KONGOD
KALINGA
PALLAVAS
Amrawati
Vengi
R. Krishna
R. Pennar
CHOLA
Kanchi
PALLAVAS
R. Palar
PALLAVAS
R. Kaveri
Palakka
CHERA
PANDYA



70° 90°

Emery Walker sc.

court counted amidst its members nine gems, or brilliant men of letters, among whom Kalidas is by far the most famous.

The Successors of Chandragupta Vikramaditya.—Chandragupta was succeeded by Kumaragupta I, who ruled from 415 to 455. He successfully maintained the unity of the empire, although he had to face serious troubles during the concluding years of his reign, which threatened to put an end to the empire.

His successor was Skandagupta, whose reign witnessed the first irruption of the Hunas into India. The Hunas (or white Ephthalites or Yethas) were a barbarous people who inhabited the steppes of Asia, and who migrated in search of pasture lands towards the Volga in the west and the Oxus in the south. They overthrew the Kushan rulers of Kabul and poured into India. Their first inroads were repelled by Skandagupta in 455, and till his death in 467 the Hunas did not again disturb the tranquillity of the empire.

During the next ten years three emperors ruled in quick succession, but in 476 Buddhagupta became emperor. He ruled till 500. The Hunas now returned to India in greater force, conquered Gandhara, and made raids into the Gupta dominions. Their leader, Toramana, established his power over Western and Central India and his son, Mihiragula, made Sakala (Sialkot) his capital.

The successor of Buddhagupta lost Malwa, but his successor, Baladitya, expelled the Hunas from Central India. Their final overthrow was achieved by a confederacy of princes led by Yashodharman of Mandsor, about 528 A.D. Mihiragula was forced to retire to Kashmir where he died.

The Gupta empire broke up under the stress of these wars. The successors of Baladitya lost a great part of their dominions. A new dynasty, which bore the name of Maukharis, rose into prominence in the Doab and Magadha. The Maitrakas established a dynasty with Valabhi as their capital in Malwa. The Gaudas of Bengal began their encroachments from the east, and the Chalukyas, who had attained ascendancy in the Deccan, exerted pressure from the south. The authority of the Guptas was confined to Magadha where they continued to rule till the first half of the eighth century.

The Vardhanas, 600—648 A.D.—The confusion which the Huna invasions produced in India gave opportunity to Raja Prabhakar Vardhana of Thanesar to raise his principality to considerable prominence by waging successful wars against his neighbours. When he died his eldest son, Rajya Vardhana, succeeded him in 605 A.D. His sister was married to the Maukhari Raja of Kanauj, who was attacked and slain by the king of Malwa. To avenge the death of his brother-in-law, Rajya Vardhana led an expedition against him and defeated him, but was himself treacherously slain in 606 A.D. by Sasanka, the ruler of Central Bengal. His brother, Harsha Vardhana, then ascended the throne. He was an able and energetic king, and fond of conquest and dominion. Within five years of his accession he brought the greater part of Northern India under his control. The Raja of Valabhi was reduced to the position of a vassal, and the Rajas of Gujarat and Kathiawar were forced to pay tribute. He failed, however, to subdue the Deccan, for Pulakesin II of the Chalukya dynasty so successfully defended the frontier that Harsha was unable to cross the Narbada.

INDIA in A.D. 640
Empires of Harsha & Pulikesin

70° 80° 90°

KAPISA
R. Kabul
R. Indus
Taxila
KASHMIR
HUNS
GURJARA CLANS
R. Beas
MULA STHANA (Multan)
R. Sutlej
STHANESVARA Thaneswar
R. Sitadru
SINDH
R. Indus
GURJARA
R. Ganges
Kusanagara
EMPIRE OF HARSHA
NEPAL
R. Rapti
R. Gumti
Kanauj
R. Jumna
Vaisali
KAMRUP
R. Brahmaputra
R. Chambal
Prayaga
Kasi
Pataliputra
MAGADHA
KARNA SUVARNA OR GAUDA
Bodhgaya
R. Sone
MALWA OR UJJAYANI
Tropic of Cancer
VALABHI
Bharukacha-Baroach
SURASHTRA
R. Narmada
MAHA KOSALA
UDRA (Orissa)
R. Mahanadi
R. Tapti
MAHA RASHTRA
Nasik
Paithan
R. Godavari
KONGODA
Puri
(Ganjam)
WESTERN CHALUKYA
KALINGA
EMPIRE OF PULIKESIN
KONKANA
E. CHALUKYA
Vatapi
R. Krishna
VENGI
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
R. Penner
RASHTRAKUTA
CHOLA
GANGA
DRAVIDA
Kanchi
R. Palar
PALLAVAS
R. Kaveri
KERALA
Palakka
PANDYA
Madura
SIMHALA (Ceylon)

30° 20° 10°

Longitude East 80° of Greenwich

Emery Walker sc.

The last campaign of the king was an attack on Ganjam on the eastern coast in 643 A.D.

Harsha ruled an empire which extended over the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Narbada, and from Assam to the Arabian Sea. The Punjab and Rajputana were not, however, included in the empire. He was an enlightened and benevolent ruler who took a keen personal interest in the administration of the empire. He was continually touring round his dominions and inspecting the work of his officers. During his time, taxes were light and crime was rare. But travelling was less safe than in the Gupta period, and punishments were severer.

Harsha was a patron of literary men and himself a versatile writer. He wrote a number of dramas of high merit. Bana, the famous author of *Harshacharita,* lived at his court. Harsha was very tolerant in his religious opinions. He convened great religious assemblies at Kanauj to deliberate upon religious questions, and every five years he held an assembly at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayag, where he distributed charities on a large scale among the followers of all religions. During the last years of his life he adopted the Buddhist religion.

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during his reign, has left an interesting record of the conditions of the country in these times.

Harsha died in 647 A.D. He left no heir, and his death plunged the country into disorder. The princes and the chiefs who had been kept together by the power of the imperial arms asserted their independence, and for the next five hundred years Northern India remained politically disunited.

The Deccan, 300—700 A.D.—When the Satavahana dynasty passed away, the Deccan became divided into numerous small principalities. In the Eastern Deccan several dynasties arose, which ruled over the districts enclosed in the valleys and deltas of the rivers. Samudragupta's expedition was led against them. They were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas.

In the central plateau the most important dynasty was that of the Vakatakas, which during the fifth century held sway over the Deccan up to the Krishna river. Its capital was Pravarapura. One of their kings named Rudrasena married the daughter of Chandragupta II. Another, Harisena, made conquests in all directions. The dynasty was replaced in the sixth century by that of the Kalachuris who ruled in Malwa.

In the western parts of the Deccan, in the third century, the Abhiras ruled in the north, the Rashtrikas in the centre, and the Kadambas and the Gangas in the south. In the middle of the sixth century the Chalukyas rose into prominence. The dynasty was founded by Pulakesin I, who made Vatapi (Badami) his capital about 550 A.D. His sons extended their dominions and his grandson, Pulakesin II, who ascended the throne in 608 A.D., made himself master of Gujarat, Rajputana, Malwa and Vengi (between the Krishna and the Godavari). He repulsed the invasion of Harsha about 620 A.D. He waged war against the Pallavas, and ravaged Kanchi, their capital. In 642 A.D., however, the Pallava king, Narsingh Varma, avenged this humiliation by defeating Pulakesin, plundering Vatapi and putting the king to death.

The successors of Pulakesin continued the struggle with the Pallavas. They won several victories over

them and twice captured Kanchi, but in the end the Rashtrakutas, whom they had displaced in the sixth century, overthrew the Chalukya dynasty about the middle of the eighth century.

The Ascendancy of the Pallavas.—The Pallavas were a family who were related to the Nagas and were the feudatories of the Satavahanas. They extended their authority from Amaravati on the Krishna river to Kanchi on the South Pennar. When the Satavahana kingdom broke up in the middle of the third century, they became independent and founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas. In the middle of the fourth century Vishnugopa was the king of Kanchi when Samudragupta invaded the Deccan. His successors became overlords of the Kadambas and the Gangas.

With the accession of Sinhavishnu to the throne of Kanchi in 590 A.D., the Pallavas began a career of conquest and glory. Sinhavishnu defeated the Cholas and Pandyas and possibly the king of Ceylon. His successor, Mahendra Varma I, had to give up a part of the Pallava territories to Pulakesin II, but he was a notable ruler, a great builder and a patron of letters. He was converted from Jainism to Saivism by Saint Appar. His son, Narsingh Varma (630-68 A.D.), inflicted defeats upon the Tamil kings, invaded the Western Deccan, captured Vatapi and killed Pulakesin II. He also led an expedition to Ceylon, which started from his naval station of Mahamallapuram.

Under the successors of Narsingh Varma, the struggle with the Chalukyas was continued. But internal quarrels led to the humiliation of the Pallavas, who were forced to pay tribute. Their power rapidly declined,

and by the end of the ninth century they ceased to rule independently.

The Pallavas were capable administrators. They revived Saivism in the south, gave great impetus to Sanskrit learning, and built wonderful temples.

5(b). State of Society and Civilisation, 300—800 A.D.

Religion.—The Vedic religion had undergone great changes during the period of Maurya rule. But with the establishment of the Brahman empires in the north and the Deccan, Buddhism and Jainism began to lose their popularity and began to be transformed by the influence of the rising Hindu sects. The Mahayana Buddhism, which was evolved under the Kushan patronage, bears a close resemblance to Hinduism. It recognises Buddha as the supreme god, believes in many incarnations of the Buddha and in many Bodhisattvas, which resemble Hindu gods and goddesses. It is a religion of devotion, and its rites and ceremonies are similar to those of Hinduism. When Fa-Hien visited India early in the fifth century this religion was flourishing; but by the time of Hiuen Tsang, in the reign of Harsha, it had lost ground, and in the centuries following his departure it was absorbed into Hinduism.

The Jainas had become divided in the first century into the two sects of Svetambaras and Digambaras. The former sect flourished in the north and the latter in the south. The Jaina worship was developed on the models of the Buddhist and Hindu worship. Temples and stupas and devotional exercises were used. But although Buddhism gradually disappeared from India, Jainism

continued to make progress in Bihar, Kathiawar and the southern lands.

Hinduism attained the greatest popularity and found the fullest expression in the abundant literature of the times. The Hinduism of the age, however, differed in many respects from the ancient Vedic religion. It was a sectarian religion in which the places of Vedic gods were taken by Vishnu, Siva, Durga, Surya (sun), Ganesha and other Puranic gods. The Vedic sacrifices were largely displaced by the simple rites laid down in the *Smritis*. The killing of animals for sacrifice or for food was considered evil, and the principle of non-injury to the living (*ahimsa*) became a part of the faith. The doctrine of the incarnations of God (*avataras*) was recognised.

In order to establish Hinduism firmly, philosophical treatises were compiled for the learned and popular works for the ordinary people. Among the first are the six famous systems of Hindu philosophy known as the *Darshanas*, and among the latter the *Mahabharata*, *Harivansha* and the eighteen *Puranas*, which were finally revised and compiled. The great teacher, Kumarila Bhatta, revived the study of *Mimansa* (the philosophy of the Vedic ritual). The decline of Buddhism and the spread of Hinduism were not, however, the results of the use of political power. The followers of the various religions in India were tolerant of one another's faith, and did not persecute those who differed from them. The disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth was due largely to its transformation. It became so like Hinduism that it ceased to exist as a separate religion. Many of its doctrines, however, were adopted by the new Hindu sects and philosophies

Society.—The revival of Hinduism had much influence upon social life. The respect for the Brahman caste was greatly enhanced. In the new codes of laws which were drawn up on the lines of the *Manu Smriti*, the caste system obtained a rigidity it had never possessed before. The rules about food and marriage became very strict. The eating of flesh and the killing of animals, even for sport, were prohibited. According to the Chinese travellers the lowest classes were not allowed to live inside the towns, and their quarters were fixed outside. In one way, however, the caste system of this age was different from that of later times. Marriages between men of higher and women of lower castes were permitted, and the offspring of such marriages were given a recognised position in society. It was also possible for people like the Hunas, Abhiras and Gurjaras to become Hindus. Women were regarded in the codes as unfit for independent life. The marriage of widows was discouraged; the custom of *sati* was established, but child-marriage was still unknown. Women were taught the arts and also the *Sastras*.

Government.—The position of the monarch was a very exalted one. The titles of the Gupta emperors and other rulers were extremely high-sounding, *e.g.*, "supreme lord" (*Parameshvara*), "the most worshipful one" (*Param Bhattaraka*), "the most divine" (*Param daivata*), etc. The kings looked upon their subjects as their children for whose welfare they were personally responsible. Their power was unbounded within their own realm. When they conquered any neighbouring states they were content to make the vanquished rulers their subordinates and feudatories who paid them tribute, but were

otherwise free to administer their territories without interference. The empires were thus constituted of loosely connected principalities which recognised an overlord.

The monarchs maintained magnificent courts, which were attended by feudatories, ministers, important personages, poets, favourites and others. The elaborate machinery of government worked efficiently under the able rulers of these times. According to the testimony of Fa-Hien the country was prosperous and the people were happy. The towns were large and flourishing places; the capital, Pataliputra, was adorned with splendid palaces, temples and monasteries. There were houses of rest on the highways, houses of charity for the poor, and houses of healing for the sick. People were pious and spent much wealth in performing religious ceremonies and maintaining priests and monks. The government was mild, taxes were light, and the freedom enjoyed by the people was considerable. The picture of India which Hiuen Tsang has drawn in the description of his travels in the seventh century does not differ much from that of Fa-Hien.

It is not certain whether there was a ministerial council to assist the monarch, but he had a number of high ministers whose office was often hereditary. The number of officials had grown large in this age, but there was no distinction between civil and military officials, or between executive, judicial and revenue officers.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces (*Desa, Bhukti*) which were governed by officers called wardens (*Goptas*), or supervisors (*Uparika Maharaja*) who were usually princes of the royal family. The

provinces were divided into districts (*Pradesa, Visaya*) which were administered by district officers (*Visayapati*). The provincial governors and the district officers had many subordinate officers under them.



Photo *Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.*

AJANTA, CAVE XIX.

The villages were under headmen (*Gramika*), with whom certain village elders were probably associated for administration.

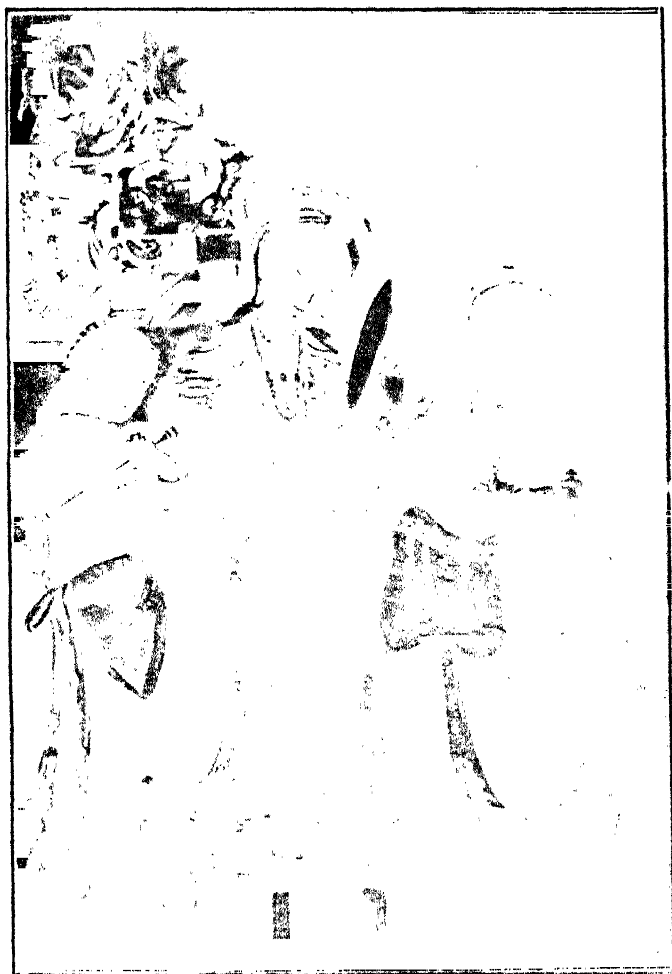


Photo *Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.*

TOILET SCENE.
AJANTA, CAVE XVII.

The towns had their own system of administration, but the city officer was appointed by the governor of the province.

The officials were often chosen from the same families, and their office tended to go down from father to son.

Economic Life.—The basis of the splendour of



Photo *Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.*

VERANDAH: APSARAS.
AJANTA, CAVE XVII.

these times was the economic development of the country. Agriculture was undoubtedly the principal industry of the people, but arts and crafts were also flourishing vigorously. The writers of the age speak of the sixty-four arts (*Kalas*) among which were included metal, cloth, leather,

stone, wood, and many other industries. The great iron pillars at Delhi and Dhar were manufactured in this age. The forging of such iron bars is not frequent even in Europe to-day.

The products of Indian craftsmen were carried by land and sea to distant regions. The ancient Hindus had highly developed the art of ship-building, and they embarked from the seaports of Tamralipti, Kudur, Kayal, etc., on the eastern, and Broach, Sopara, Kalyan, etc., on the western coast. They carried Indian goods and Hindu culture to the colonies which they established in the Indo-Chinese peninsula (Burma, Malacca, Cambodia, Annam), and the islands of the eastern Archipelago (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Philippines, etc.).

Art, Science and Literature.—This was indeed the golden age of Indian culture. The arts of planning towns, of architecture, sculpture and painting attained wonderful development. Temples with high curvilinear steeples (*Shikhara*) were built, and chapels of worship and halls of residence for monks were dug out of living rock. Among these the most interesting are the Vishvakarma Chaitya House at Ellora, and the temples of Mahamallapuram built by the Pallavas. The buildings were adorned with works of sculpture and painting. The finest examples of painting are found in the Ajanta caves of this period.

Sanskrit became the chief language of the state and of religion, philosophy and literature. The name of Kalidasa, the great poet and dramatist, stands foremost in literature. Among his many works the drama of *Shakuntala*, the lyrical ballad of *Meghaduta*, and the epic of *Raghuvansh* are rightly regarded as the masterpieces of literature. With him Sudraka, the author of

Mrichchhakatika (the clay cart), king Harsha and Bhavabhuti are deservedly famous for their dramatic works. Dandin wrote a prose romance, and Bana the well-known life of Harsha. The *Panchatantra*, which has been translated into many languages of the world, was compiled during this age, and so were numerous other story books. Vakpatiraja wrote in Maharashtri Prakrit an epic to celebrate the victory of Yashovarma over a Bengal king.

In science, too, India made a great advance. The names of Aryabhata, Varahamihira and Brahmagupta in mathematics and astronomy, and Charaka and Susruta in medical science are worthy of note. The sciences of engineering, law, war, politics, agriculture, animal husbandry and others received great attention, and many treatises were written on them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE AGE, 700—1818

The eighth century marks a transition. With it closes the ancient period of Indian History, the period during which the Aryan tribes spread over India, established principalities and founded short-lived empires.

Before the eighth century had passed, new factors had arisen which largely changed the ancient conditions and ushered in a new era. Rajput families spread over Northern India and the Deccan, and set up new kingdoms. Buddhism practically disappeared, Jainism lost ground, and sectarian Hinduism became popular. The place of Sanskrit was gradually taken by the Prakrits, from which arose the modern Indian languages—Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Urdu and others. The new age had new forms of art, especially of temple building. The social conditions became more rigid and the ascendancy of the priests more pronounced.

One of the most important of the new factors was the advent of the Muslims. They began to settle on the western coasts of Southern India soon after the rise of Islam. There they were welcomed as traders, soldiers and sailors, and they soon acquired a position of influence in the principalities of the coast of the Deccan and the South. Their settlements became centres of religious influence, and their ideas

spread among the peoples. In Northern India the Muslim Arabs first entered from the west; they appeared as invaders, and although after the conquest of Sindh they could not make any advance into India from that direction, their merchants, missionaries and saints visited the country, travelled freely and settled in the towns.

Before the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni, India had already become familiar with the Muslims and their ways. The Indian princes gave them favourable opportunities for trade, and protected them from molestation; they allowed them to build their mosques, to perform their worship freely and carry on their religious propaganda.

With the exception of the invasion of Sindh during the first half of the eighth century, the Muslims who came to India lived as peaceful residents of the country. Then, at the end of the tenth century, the Turks began their encroachments. Mahmud, their great leader, made many raids but did not establish a kingdom in India. Nearly a century and a half elapsed before the advance was resumed, and by the beginning of the thirteenth century Northern India was swiftly brought under the sway of the Turkish Sultans.

The rule of the Sultans of Delhi was overthrown by the invasions of Babur, who founded the Mughal empire in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His descendants continued to rule over a wide empire till the commencement of the eighteenth century, and then the power of the Mughals rapidly declined and the British established their dominion in India.

The history of these one thousand years may be divided into three periods. In the first period, from

700 to 1200, the Rajputs dominated the Indian stage, and in the second period the Turks conquered India and established the Sultanate of Delhi, which passed from the hands of one dynasty to another till Babur seized the throne of Delhi in 1526. The third period runs from 1526 to 1818, and covers the history of the rise and decline of the Mughal empire.

1. The Early Middle Age, 700—1200

The history of this period is a record of the gradual establishment of the ascendancy of the Pratiharas over the other Rajput chiefs, and their subsequent decline in Northern India. The eastern region of India, however, was never brought under the sway of the Rajputs.

In the Deccan, first the Rashtrakuta and then the Chalukya dynasties exercised power; and in the south the Cholas established their domination and played an important rôle in Indian history.

The history of the period falls naturally into two parts. In the first part, *i.e.*, from 700 to 1000, the Pratiharas in the north and the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan retained ascendancy; in the second part, *i.e.*, from 1000 to 1200, the Rajput empire declined and the Turkish invaders conquered India; in the Deccan the Chalukyas replaced the Rashtrakutas; but in the south the Cholas continued to rule vigorously.

(a). The Rise of Rajput Empire, 700—1000

On the death of Harsha, the Vardhana empire which had brought many principalities under one rule was broken up. In the different parts of India independent kingdoms were established. For a long time they continued

to exist without acknowledging a suzerain, and carried on petty and never-ending wars against one another. In the beginning of the ninth century, however, a greater part of Northern India was brought under the sway of the Pratiharas of Kanauj and the Palas of Bengal.

The Deccan remained under the rule of the Chalukyas till the middle of the eighth century. In 753 the Rashtrakutas overthrew the Chalukyas, who later set up their capital at Manyakheta. Their dynasty ruled over a great portion of the Deccan till 974. In the eastern parts of the Deccan an eastern branch of the Chalukyas continued to rule from Vengi.

In the south the Pandyas gained a short-lived ascendancy by defeating the Pallavas, but the close of the ninth century saw the rise of the Cholas to supremacy over all their rivals.

Northern India, from the death of Harsha to the decline of the Pratiharas.—The political condition of India before the rise of the Pratiharas of Kanauj may be briefly described as follows:—

Kashmir.—In the north Kashmir, which once formed part of the Maurya empire, was an independent and powerful kingdom. The founder of its greatness was Durlabhavardhana of the Karkota dynasty (733-69). Among his successors were Muktapida Lalitaditya and Jayapida, who inflicted defeats and humiliation on the kings of Kanauj, and extended their influence far and wide. King Avantivarma (855-83) who came after them, was noted for his beneficent rule. His successors were worthless tyrants, and in 1003 the throne passed into the hands of a new line.

Kabul.—The kingdom of Kabul and Gandhara was governed by the Kshattriya Buddhist rulers whose title was Shahi. This dynasty was supplanted by the Brahman minister, Lalliya, about 880. The Brahman line continued to rule over the north-western Punjab and Kabul till it was overthrown by Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Punjab.—In the Punjab there were two independent chieftaincies; the capital of the first was at Sialkot and the other at Jalandhar. The rulers of Sialkot were known as Tak or Takka, and the country of Jalandhar was called Trigarta.

Nepal and Assam.—The border kingdoms of Nepal and Assam do not require much notice. Nepal asserted its independence in the beginning of the eighth century and adopted a new era in 879. Assam was under the suzerainty of the Palas of Bengal during the period.

Bengal.—The death of Harsha plunged Bengal into confusion. Local rajas ruled over the country. But among them the name of Adisura, who appears to have made an effort to revive Brahmanism, alone may be mentioned. About the middle of the eighth century (730-40) the first king of the Pala dynasty, named Gopala, established his rule over West Bengal and South Bihar. His successors, Dharmapala (780-815) and Devapala (815-40), were powerful kings who extended their dominions in the west as far as Kanauj, in the east over Assam, and in the south over Kalinga. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Palas dominated in the east and were rivals of the kings of Kanauj. They kept off the Gurjaras from occupying Bihar, but during the latter part of the tenth century the Pala rule

suffered from the attacks of the hillmen, and although Mahipala (978-1030) drove them out of Bengal, the Palas did not recover their old prestige and power. For the Chola king Rajendra I invaded Bihar and Eastern Bengal and defeated Mahipala, and the Kalachuris of Chedi pressed on his dominions from the west and seized Benares.

The Palas were Buddhists and they exercised their patronage for the extension of their faith. They were enlightened rulers and their times are noted for remarkable artistic and intellectual activities.

The Rajputs.—Northern India, west of Bihar, was under the rule of the Rajput families. The origin of these families is obscure. Some scholars are of opinion that some of these families are descendants of foreign tribes, *i.e.*, the Sakas and the Hunas who came into India and settled in its western parts, and some are sprung from indigenous races such as the Gonds and Bhars. Other scholars dispute this theory, and hold the Rajputs to be the descendants of the ancient Kshattriya families. The evidence for their foreign descent is not convincing, nor is it possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to prove the Rajput claims to descent from the ancient solar and lunar dynasties.

Whatever their origin may be, the Rajputs had many things in common. They were linked together by intermarriages and by common customs. The Rajput princes were great supporters of sectarian Hinduism, and they enhanced the respect for the Brahmans. They encouraged arts and literature, industry and commerce. They were famous for their chivalry, their women preferred death to loss of honour, they showed reckless courage in battle and unquestioning personal devotion to their chiefs. They

were swift to take offence, persistent in their feuds and inordinately fond of fighting.

Of these Rajput families, the one which came to the forefront during this period, and attained the imperial power in the north, was the family of the Pratiharas.

The word Pratihara means a doorkeeper, and it was the name of an office, the holder of which was an important and confidential official of the Hindu kings. According to tradition, Rohilladhi was the ancestor of the Pratiharas. He married two wives, one a Brahman and the other a Kshattriya, and the offspring from the Kshattriya wife seized Mandor, near Bhilmal, built a fort there and laid the foundations of their future greatness. Among his successors Nagabhatta I (725-40) made Merta (in Jodhpur territory) his capital. He extended his dominions from Marwar to Broach, and repulsed the attacks of the Arabs from Sindh. His grandson, Vatsaraja (770-800), who was an ambitious prince, invaded the territory of Kanauj and defeated the Maukhari king, Indrayudha. Gopala of Bengal, who came to help Indrayudha, was also defeated. But the successors of Vatsaraja excited the jealousy of their southern neighbour, the Rashtrakuta king, Dhruva, who humbled the pride of Vatsaraja and obliged him to retire to his own country.

Nagabhatta II (800-33), son of Vatsaraja, retrieved the position of his father. He inflicted defeats upon the feudatories and allies of Kanauj, and vanquished Chakrayudha, the last Maukhari king of Kanauj. In 815 he made Kanauj his capital and assumed the title of emperor. He conquered Northern Gujarat, Malwa, the Vindhyan region, Vatsa (country south of the Jumna), Matsya (the Jaipur territory),

and thus his empire extended from the Himalayas to Kathiawar and Allahabad to the Punjab. His successors, Mihir Bhoja (843-81), Mahendrapala (890-907) and Mahipala (910-40), were warlike princes who not only maintained the empire in its wide extent, but led expeditions into the territories of neighbouring princes. Besides, they carried on, with varying fortune, wars against their two great rivals, the Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta.

Mihir Bhoja inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king of Bengal, and Mahendrapala annexed a portion of Magadha to his empire. Mahipala, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakutas who boasted of plundering Kanauj. The Pratihara empire, however, remained undivided, and in the middle of the tenth century it stretched from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, and from the eastern to the western ocean.

While the empire was at its height, a number of Arab travellers visited India. The Arabs were on friendly terms with the Rashtrakutas who ruled over the sea board of the Deccan, and regarded the kings of Kanauj as their enemies, because they were hostile to the Rashtrakutas. They were greatly struck by the power and wealth of the kingdom, and highly praised its internal administration and order.

The successors of Mahipala were weak rulers. They were eclipsed by the growth of the Chandellas in the south. The Paramaras of Malwa, the Solankis of Gujarat and the other feudatories became independent. Rajyapala was on the throne of Kanauj from 990 to 1018. He was attacked by Mahmud, and fled across the Ganges. Raja Ganda Chandella killed him in battle after the return of Mahmud to Kabul. In 1078 Kanauj passed into the

hands of Gahadvadas, and the Pratiharas passed out of history.

Sindh.—Sindh was the westernmost principality of India. Its capital was at Alor (near the modern Rohri). At the time of Harsha's death its ruler belonged to a Buddhist dynasty of the Maurya clan. The prince governed the whole valley of Sindh, and had a number of important feudatories in Baluchistan. On the death of the last ruler of the line, the government was seized by his Brahman minister, Chach, who established a new dynasty (650). Chach was a bigoted ruler who made harsh and stringent rules for some of his subjects. They were forbidden to carry arms, wear silk garments, or ride on horseback with saddles, and they were commanded to walk about bare-headed and bare-footed and accompanied by dogs.

Chach was succeeded on the throne by his son, Dahar, who was defeated and overthrown by the Arabs in 712.

The appearance of the Arabs in Sindh was not the result of a sudden or isolated movement, but an effect of the expansion of the Arabs which had begun in early times and was stimulated by the rise of Islam.

The influence of the teachings of Muhammad on the Arabs was wonderful. Before his time they were divided into numerous hostile tribes, but he welded them into one powerful organisation. Before the death of the Prophet in 632, the Arabs had set forward on the road to empire. The first four Caliphs, who succeeded as the vicars of the Prophet, and who are known as the righteous Caliphs, extended the boundaries of Arab rule in all directions. They were succeeded by the Ommayid Caliphs, who retained power for nearly 100 years

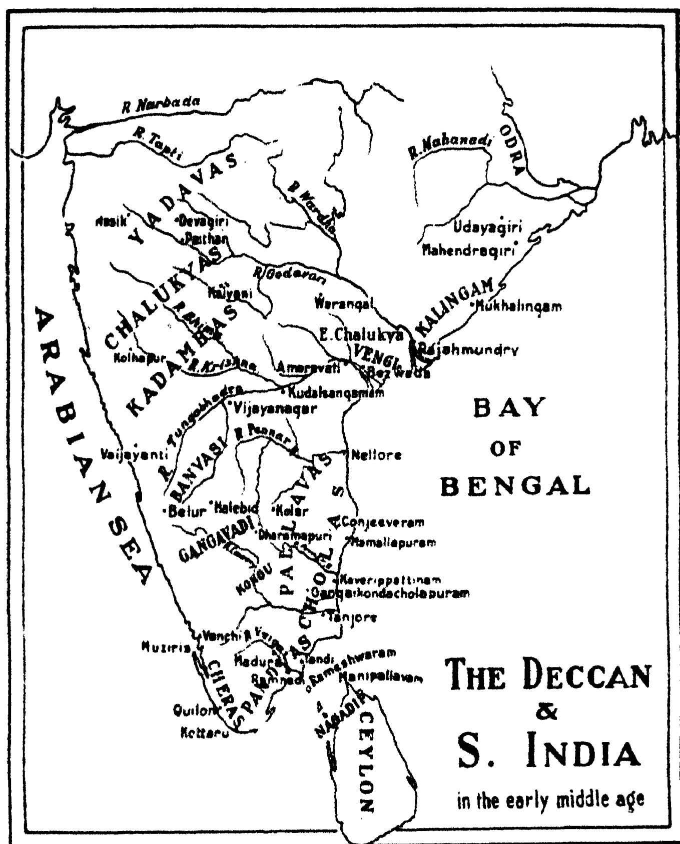
(650-750), and it was during their rule that the Arab dominion expanded in the east to the Indus valley.

A number of causes led them towards India. In the first place the Arabs, who were traders, had settled in the ports of the Indian sea coast, and had set up a lucrative trade with India. But their ships were open to attack by the pirates who infested the waters of the Gujarat, Sindh and Makran coasts. A number of naval expeditions were sent by the Caliphs to put an end to piracy. Secondly, the Arabs, whom the Prophet Muhammad had united, had renewed their old feuds, and some partisans in these quarrels took refuge in Sindh, and were a source of perpetual annoyance to the power of the Caliphate. Some of them were taken in service by the kings of Sindh. Thirdly, the subjects and feudatories of the rulers of Sindh chafed under their harsh administration and many of them had joined the Arabs.

When, therefore, the Arabs had conquered Baluchistan with the help of the discontented Hindu and Buddhist inhabitants and chiefs, they came into direct contact with the rulers of Sindh. They naturally asked Dahar to make compensation for the losses which their ships had suffered from robbers in the Indus delta, and on his refusal they fitted out an expedition which was sent under the leadership of Muhammad bin Qasim in 711.

Muhammad defeated Dahar, and within three years conquered Sindh and Multan. The defeat of Dahar was due to the treachery of his Hindu Sardars, and to the refusal of his Muslim mercenaries to fight.

The Muslim conqueror treated the vanquished with



R Narbada
R. Tapti
YADAVAS
Nasik
Devagiri
Paithan
R Wardha
R. Mahanadi
ODRA
Udayagiri
Mahendragiri
CHALUKYAS
R Godavari
Kalyani
Warangal
KALINGAM
Mukhalingam
KADAMBAS
E. Chalukya
VENGI
Rajahmundry
Kolhapur
R. Krishna
Amaravati
Bezwada
Kudalsangamam
ARABIAN SEA
R. Tungabhadra
Vijayanagar
BAY
OF
BENGAL
Vaijayanti
BANVASI
R Pennar
PALLAVAS
Nellore
Belur
Halebid
Kolar
Conjeeveram
GANGAVADI
Dharmapuri
Mamallapuram
KONGU
CHOLAS
Kaverippattinam
Gangaikondacholapuram
Tanjore
Vanchi
Muziris
CHERAS
Madura
PANDYAS
Rameshwaram
Manipallavam
Ramnad
Quilon
Kottaru
NAGADIP
CEYLON
THE DECCAN
&
S. INDIA
in the early middle age

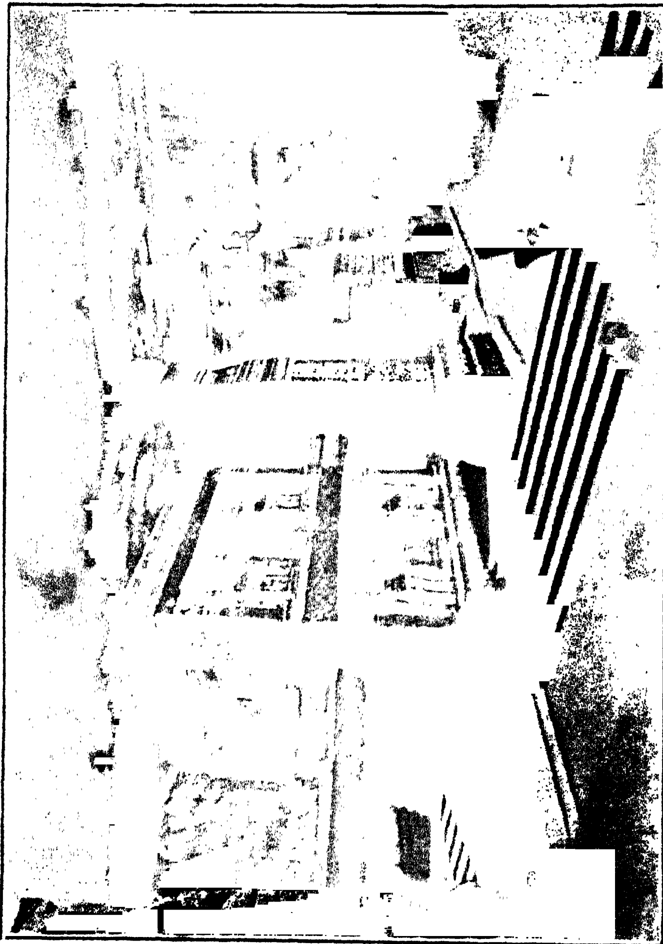
great wisdom and generosity. The old system of revenue administration was retained, and the old officials continued in service. The Hindu priests and monks were allowed to worship in their own temples, and only a light tribute was levied, whose rate was fixed in accordance with the income of the individual. The cultivators were permitted to pay the customary dues to the temples and the priests.

The Arab rule established by Muhammad lasted for nearly 300 years. During this period many changes took place in Sindh. The river Indus shifted its course, the Arab rulers built new towns, and administered the country well. But the dissensions which broke out among the claimants to the Caliphate gradually weakened their hold, and by the end of the eighth century the principalities of Sindh became practically independent. Although the Arabs made some attempts to extend their rule over the eastern territories, they failed for lack of support from the central authority, and because of the resistance of the Rajputs.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni conquered these Arab principalities of Sindh.

The Deccan, 750—973.—The Rashtrakutas, who were probably connected with the Rajput Rathors, were petty chiefs in the Deccan. They recognised the suzerainty of the Chalukyas for a long time, but in the middle of the eighth century, when the Chalukyas had been exhausted by wars with the Pallavas, Dantidurga Rashtrakuta rebelled against his Chalukya overlord, and drove him from power. He took possession of the Deccan and his successor Krishna (753-75) consolidated the dominion. He built the wonderful Kailash temple at Ellora.

He had a number of notable successors. One of them was Dhruva who inflicted a defeat on



GENERAL VIEW OF KAILASH TEMPLE, ELLORA.

Vatsaraja Pratihara and forced the Pallavas to pay tribute. Another, Govind III, extended his

dominions and power in the north and the south, and transferred the capital to Manyakheta (Malkhed, in the Nizam's territory). His son, Amoghavarsha (815-75), was a patron of Jainism.

After him the Rashtrakutas began to decline. They had to defend their territories from the attacks of the Paramaras of Malwa and the Cholas from the south. The dynasty was overthrown by the Chalukya Tailapa (in 973), the founder of the line of the later Chalukyas of Kalyani.

The South.—In the eighth century the decline of the Pallavas had become manifest. They suffered defeat at the hands of their northern neighbours, the Rashtrakutas. The Pandyas sought to seize power from them, but their success was short-lived. The Cholas, however, took advantage of the situation and subdued both the Pallavas and the Pandyas, and established an empire in the south.

The founder of the Chola power was Vijayalaya, who seized Tanjore. His son, Aditya, overthrew the Pallavas. Aditya's son, Parantaka (909-53), defeated the Pandyas and invaded Ceylon, and finally established the Chola ascendancy in the south. His successors came into conflict with the Rashtrakutas who were their traditional northern foes. In 985 the greatest ruler of the dynasty, Raja Raja, came to the throne. He vanquished the Cheras, the Pandyas, the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, and the Rajas of Travancore and Orissa. Hence he became the overlord of a vast territory which extended from Bengal to Ceylon, and included Mysore.

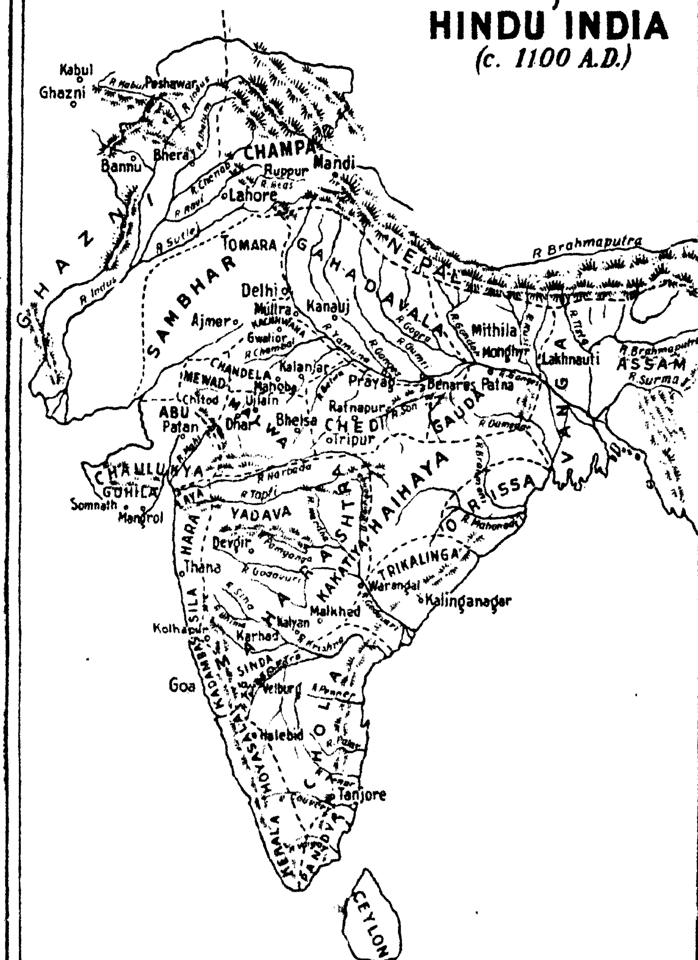
His son, Rajendra, was equally warlike. He conquered the Raichur Doab and Banavasi (in the Deccan).

He sent a naval expedition which occupied Pegu (in Burma) and the islands in the Bay of Bengal. He also defeated Mahipala, king of Bengal, about 1023. His victorious reign lasted till 1035. The period of half a century covered by these two reigns was the most glorious in the Chola annals.

(b). The Downfall of the Rajputs and the Conquest of India by the Turks, 1000—1200

The general decline which marked the end of the tenth century in India led to a state of anarchy in which petty independent chiefs fought against one another. The absence of a strong state made it easy for foreigners to invade India and ultimately to conquer it. India, given over to the internecine wars and the never-ending and aimless feuds of its princes, was utterly heedless of the fact that on the north-western frontier a new power was arising, which was prepared to utilise fully this opportunity to harry and plunder the country from Kabul to Somnath and from Multan to Kalinjar.

The Invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.—Ghazni is one of the great strongholds of Afghanistan. It was conquered by Alptigin, an officer of the Turkish ruler of Bukhara, in 962. Sabuktigin, who was his son-in-law, became ruler of Ghazni in 977. He first extended his dominion by conquering the southern territories of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and then turned his attention eastwards. The ruler of Kabul then was Jayapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. His kingdom included Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab to the Beas river. Kabul, Waihind (Ohind) and Lahore were the important cities of this kingdom. The encroachments of Sabuktigin forced Jayapala into hostilities, but he was


POLITICAL MAP of HINDU INDIA (c. 1100 A.D.)
Kabul
Ghazni
Peshawar
R. Kabul
R. Indus
Bannu
Bhera
CHAMPA
Mandi
Ruppur
Lahore
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Beas
R. Sutlej
GHAZNAVI
TOMARA
SAMBHAR
Delhi
Muttra
Ajmer
Gwalior
KACHHWAHA
R. Chambal
Kanauj
GAHADAVALA
NEPAL
R. Brahmaputra
Mithila
Monghyr
Lakhnauti
ASSAM
R. Surma
VANGA
R. Yamuna
R. Ganges
R. Gogra
R. Gumti
CHANDELA
Kalanjar
Mahoba
MEWAD
Chitod
Ujjain
MALWA
ABU
Patan
Dhar
Bhelsa
Prayag
Benares
Patna
GAUDA
Ratnapur
R. Son
CHEDI
Tripur
R. Damodar
CHAULUKYA
GOHILA
Somnath
Mangrol
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
HAIHAYA
ORISSA
R. Mahanadi
YADAVA
Devgir
MAHARASHTRA
SILAHARA
Thana
R. Godavari
KAKATIYA
TRIKALINGA
Warangal
Kalinganagar
Malkhed
Kalyan
Kolhapur
Karhad
R. Krishna
SINDA
KADAMBA
Goa
Velburg
R. Penner
HOYSALA
Halebid
CHOLA
R. Palar
Tanjore
KERALA
PANDYA
CEYLON

defeated and obliged to surrender the western parts of his territory.

On the death of Sabuktigin in 997, his son, Mahmud, ascended the throne of Ghazni. He was a brilliant general and a capable ruler. He possessed indomitable energy and restless ambition. He was generous, just and upright. In fact he was one of the mightiest kings Asia has known.

Mahmud was a Turk, and his forces were mainly recruited from the Turks. They fought on horseback with bows and arrows, and were matchless for their horsemanship. Under a capable leader they were almost irresistible. These Turks were the descendants of the old Sakas and Hunas, whose movements five hundred years before had shaken the continents of Asia and Europe. In the eleventh century the same people—now converted to Islam—resumed their ancient career, which within three centuries made them masters of a vast territory including the greater part of Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe.

The one great passion of Mahmud's life was conquest and empire, and he devoted his whole career in pursuit of them. He was able to realize his ambition to a great extent. He conquered a great part of Central Asia and Persia, and was on the point of conquering the Caliph's territories when he died in 1030.

He led many invasions into India with the object of gaining military glory and plunder. He looted and burnt many temples because they were the repositories of wealth, but he made few conversions by force. On the other hand, he employed many Hindu officers and soldiers in his army who fought for him in his wars in Persia and Central Asia. His religious persecutions were

directed mainly against the Muslim heretics who threatened to disturb the authority and peace of his empire.

Of his Indian invasions the most important are given below:—

(1) In 1008, Mahmud led an expedition against Anandapala, son of Jayapala. He attacked the combined forces of the Rajas of the Punjab and defeated them after a stubborn fight; he then raided Nagarkot (Kangra). After this the Punjab was subdued and annexed.

(2) Mathura was sacked in 1018, and in the same year Kanauj was attacked. Rajyapala, the cowardly ruler of Kanauj, fled and the Sultan captured the city.

(3) In 1019, Mahmud started for India to punish Ganda the Chandella, who had overthrown Rajyapala and placed his son on the throne. Ganda gave battle to the invader, but fled panic-stricken. In 1022, however, Mahmud marched to Kalinjar, laid siege to the fort, and compelled Ganda to submit.

(4) The last important expedition of Mahmud in India was directed against Somnath on the sea coast in Kathiawar. He started from Ghazni in 1025, passed Multan and traversing the Rajputana desert reached Anhilwara. The Solanki Raja of Gujarat fled, and the Sultan marched to Somnath. He plundered the temple and returned, by way of Sindh and Multan, to Ghazni.

In these expeditions he obtained an enormous amount of wealth, which he used in adorning Ghazni, in encouraging literature and in maintaining an efficient army.

India after Mahmud.—After the death of Mahmud, India had a respite from foreign attacks for a century and a half. But the princes of India, who had learnt nothing from their recent experience, plunged

again into their usual game of mutual warfare and destruction. While the Punjab had passed into the hands of the Turks, the fall of the Pratiharas had brought new dynasties into prominence. The most important of these in the north were the kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmer, Kanauj, Bundelkhand, Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal.

The Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer.—The Chauhans had established the kingdom of Sambhar in the ninth century. They were a vigorous set of rulers. In the eleventh century Ajayadeva Chauhan built Ajmer, and removed the capital there. His grandson, Vigraharaj (Visaldeva), conquered Delhi from the Tomaras, and repulsed the attacks of the Turks from the Punjab. He was a patron of scholars and himself a poet. Prithviraja, his nephew, ascended the throne about 1175 and ruled till 1192.

Prithviraja, or Rai Pithaura, has become a legendary figure in Indian history, and many fanciful and romantic stories have been woven round his name, specially in the *Prithviraja Rasa* of the bard Chand. These stories have no historical value. There is no doubt, however, that he fought many wars with the Solankis, the Chandellas and the Gahadavadas, and gained great reputation as a warrior. He had to bear the attacks of Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. In the first encounter in 1191, Muhammad Ghori was defeated, but next year he came with a larger force and defeated and slew Prithviraja on the battle-field of Taraori or Tarain (near Thaneshwar), and the kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer passed into the hands of the Turks.

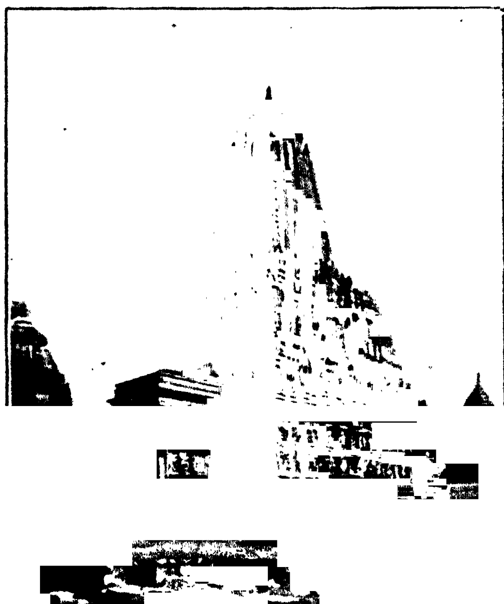
The Gahadavadas of Kanauj.—Chandradeva Gahadavada seized Kanauj from the Pratiharas about the

end of the eleventh century (1091). He brought under his sway the districts of the Gangetic Doab. His grandson, Govind Chandra, was a powerful ruler who inflicted defeats on the kings of Bengal and Chedi. He ruled from 1110 to 1155. His son, Vijayachanda, maintained the greatness of his kingdom and won a victory over the Ghaznavide prince of Lahore. Jayachanda succeeded him in 1169. He was the last powerful Hindu king of Kanauj. Muhammad Ghori defeated him in the battle of Chandawar (Etawah district) in 1194 and plundered Benares. But Jayachanda's successors continued to rule over Kanauj till its final annexation by Iltutmish. The Gahadavadas levied a poll-tax on the Muslims which was known as *Turushka danda.*

The Chandellas of Bundelkhand.—Nannuk Chandella was the founder of the house which freed Bundelkhand from the Pratihara yoke. The Chandellas made Mahoba their capital in the beginning of the tenth century. King Yasovarman Chandella conquered Kalinjar from the Kalachuris of Chedi, and not only assumed independence but humbled the ruler of Kanauj. His successor, Dhanga (950-1000), was the most prominent king of the line. He ruled over a territory extending from Kalinjar in the east to Gwalior in the west; the Jumna river formed its boundary on the north and the Betwa in the south. He was a great builder of temples. His son, Ganda (1000-20), gave help to Anandapala in resisting Mahmud. He slew Rajyapala of Kanauj for showing cowardice in the war against Mahmud, but himself behaved faint-heartedly when Mahmud invaded his territories in 1021-22.

Among his successors the most noted was Kirtivarma (1060-1100), who fought against the Kalachuris and

defeated their king. The later kings of the line carried on wars against the rulers of Malwa, Gujarat and Chedi. The last king was Paramardideva (Parmala), whose officers, Alha and Udal, fought valiantly against the Chauhan Prithviraja. Qutbuddin



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TEMPLE OF PARASANATH, KHAJURAHO.

Aibak wrested Kalinjar from him in 1203. But the Chandellas continued to rule over Bundelkhand for a long time after the loss of Kalinjar.

Their tanks and temples are the memorials of their rule.

The Paramaras of Malwa.—Upendra, or Krishna Raja, was the founder of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa. The first important ruler of the line was Munja (974-95). He waged several wars against the Chalukyas of the Deccan, but was defeated and slain in 995. His nephew was the celebrated Bhoja whose glorious reign lasted for forty years (1018-58). He was a very versatile genius. He was master of many branches of knowledge, a reputed author and a generous patron of learning. He was a successful administrator who sought zealously to promote the welfare of his people. He built a tank for irrigation and a college for Sanskrit studies. He possessed an ardent martial spirit, for he carried on successful wars against the neighbouring rulers of Gujarat, Deccan and Chedi.

The capital of Malwa, during his reign, was Dhara. After Bhoja, Malwa fell upon evil days. The Solanki rulers of Gujarat and the Kalachuris of Chedi combined to attack Malwa, and they destroyed its greatness. None of the later rulers rose to the eminence of Munja and Bhoja, although they continued to rule independently. About the middle of the twelfth century Siddhraja of Gujarat conquered Malwa, and the power of the Paramaras was greatly reduced. In 1235 Iltutmish raided Malwa, but it was finally annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Solankis of Gujarat.—Mulraj Solanki set aside his maternal uncle, the Chavada King of Patan, and became its ruler. During the reign of his great grandson, Bhima (1021-63), Mahmud invaded and sacked Somnath. But the most famous ruler of the line was Jayasinha Siddhraja (1093-1143), who con-

quered Malwa and exacted tribute from the Chandellas. He rebuilt the temple of Somnath and erected other temples. His successor, Kumarapala (1143-73), was equally powerful. He fought against the Chauhans, the Paramaras and the other neighbouring princes. He had leanings towards Jainism. His son, Mulraj II, was on the throne when Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujarat, but was defeated in 1178. The next king, Bhima II, had a long reign (1178-1241), but it was disturbed by the turbulence of the feudatories, specially the Vaghelas, who dethroned Bhima's successor and usurped the kingdom.

The Vaghelas had to suffer from the attacks of Qutbuddin Aibak whom they repulsed. But Gujarat was conquered a century later by the armies of Alauddin Khalji.

The Palas and Senas of Bengal.—Mahipala's long reign came to an end in 1030. After him Rajpala was a notable king who conquered North Bihar and was the overlord of Assam. His successors were unimportant, and their rule was confined to West Bengal only. The Sena dynasty, which had been founded in the eleventh century, disputed their authority and became independent under Vijaya Sena. Vallala Sena and his son, Lakshmana Sena, ruled over Eastern Bengal (Gauda) from their capital Nuddiah. Under them Sanskrit literature flourished greatly. In the time of Lakshmana Sena, Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji overran Bihar and Bengal. But the Senas continued to rule over Eastern Bengal till they were dispossessed by Iltutmish.

The Deccan.—The Deccan was ruled by the vigorous kings of the line of Chalukyas from Kalyan

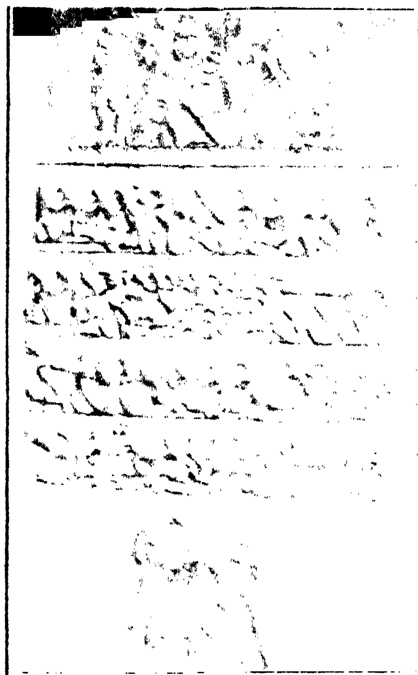
(in the Nizam's dominions). They had to defend their kingdom on two frontiers, in the north from the attacks of the Paramaras and the Solankis, and in the south from the incursions of the Cholas. Tailapa, the founder of the dynasty, waged several wars with Munja of Malwa, and ultimately defeated him and put him to death. His general opposed and fought Mulraj Solanki. His successors maintained the struggle with varying success, for Rajaraja Chola and his successors harried the Deccan and gave much trouble to the Chalukyas. Their fortunes, however, turned with the accession of Vikramaditya (Vikramanka) to the throne in 1076. He had a comparatively peaceful reign of nearly fifty years, during which his court was a great centre of learning.

His death in 1125 marked the beginning of decline. The chiefs of the different parts of the Deccan began to break away from the centre. Vijjala, the minister of war, imprisoned his master and declared himself king in 1157. For nearly thirty years the usurper's family remained in power. During this period the important religious sect of Virsaivas, or Lingayats, was established by Basava, and they rose in rebellion against the usurpers and put an end to their rule.

Meanwhile other chiefs also became independent. Among them were the Yadavas of Devagiri (Daulatabad) whose last independent king was Ramchandra (1271-1309), whom Alauddin Khalji defeated in 1294. His successors attempted to regain their power but they failed, and the dynasty came to an end in 1318. The Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra (Halebid in Mysore), who were feudatories of the Chalukyas, asserted their independence under Vir Vallala (1172-1219). They retained their power for nearly a century. But the

expedition of Malik Kafur in 1310 destroyed their capital, and Muhammad Tughluq put an end to the dynasty in 1346.

The South.—The successors of Rajendra Chola



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PATTADAKAL. VIRUPAKSHA SCULPTURE SHOWING BATTLE SCENE.

met with reverses in their wars against the Chalukyas. But Kulottunga (1070-1118) was a powerful ruler, and he twice invaded Kalinga. His death was followed by the disintegration of the Cholas. But the Pandyas who

subverted the kingdom in 1216 enjoyed only a brief period of rule. They had Muslim ministers to counsel them and Muslim generals to fight for them, and when in 1310 Malik Kafur invaded the Coromandal coast, they fought bravely against the army of the north but without avail. With the fall of the Pandyas the old states of the south became extinct.

(c). The State of Society and Civilisation, 700—1200

Caste.—In the beginning of the period the caste system was already becoming rigid, although marriages were still permitted between men of higher and women of lower castes. This practice gradually ceased in the Rajput period. In the old times each caste had its own occupation, but this distinction had been gradually disappearing. A number of Brahmans became rulers in the previous period and also in this period, and they followed other occupations like those of trade and agriculture. Some Vaisya and Sudra families attained kingship, while many Kshattriyas became cultivators. Thus birth and not occupation became the basis of caste.

But an important change now occurred in the caste system. Each caste was divided into numerous sub-castes. The Brahmans became divided not only by *Gotra*, but also by place of residence, so that the five Gaudas, the five Dravidas and numerous other sub-sections like Nagar, Saraswat, Kashmiri, etc., appeared. A similar tendency operated among the Kshattriyas: in place of the old twofold division of the Solar and Lunar families there were formed thirty-six clans of Rajputs. Besides these there appeared many sub-castes in the north and the Deccan. The Vaisyas also split up into sub-castes,

as well as the Sudras. Below them were the untouchables, whose occupations were lowly and who were divided into many groups.

With the formation of the sub-divisions, intermarriage and inter-dining between castes disappeared. and the castes became exclusive. The custom of child-marriage sprang up, the remarriage of widows was prohibited, *sati* and self-immolation were revived.

Religion.—The Buddhist religion became practically extinct in India, except that in Magadha and Bengal the Palas patronised it for some time. Jainism did not suffer such a fate, although its following diminished greatly. For a long time it flourished in Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and the south because the rulers of these countries supported it. But the rise of the new Hindu sects in the south and the north, and the conversion of the princes to these sects, led to its decline during this period.

The aspect of Hinduism changed greatly. The study of the *Vedas* and the performance of the Vedic sacrifices fell into abeyance. The worship of Vishnu, Siva and Sakti became established. The Hindus took to idol worship, and ceremonies and rites multiplied. A large number of fasts, feasts, religious practices and prohibitions came into popular use. While in the early days the Hindus who were converted to Islam were taken back into Hinduism, in later times re-conversion became impossible.

A number of great Hindu religious reformers appeared in this period specially in the south. The great Sankaracharya, who taught the doctrine of pure monism, lived in the ninth century. Ramanuja, the great Vaishnava teacher, appeared in the eleventh century.

There were many devotees of Vishnu and Siva in the Tamil lands who spread the doctrines of love and devotion to God.

Islam entered into India during this period. Muhammad, the great prophet of Islam, was born in Mecca in 569. He created a new state in Arabia, whose rapid expansion is one of the most remarkable phenomena of history. But the prophet was not a nation builder only. He was the messenger of a new faith. The religion which he taught is impressive in its doctrines and simple in its ritual. Islam teaches belief in one God who is the creator of all that lives and moves in the universe, and who excels all creatures in majesty and power. It teaches reverence for the Prophet who, as the messenger of God, invites men to surrender themselves to the divine will. The ritual of Islam consists of five daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramazan, pilgrimage to Mecca, and giving of alms. Muhammad preached that it was the duty of man to deal charitably with the poor, the strangers and the orphans, and to be gentle to all. He regarded the use of force and violence as improper in the affairs of faith. The Muslim religion insists upon the equality of men, it does not admit the need of priestcraft, it is intolerant of superstition and it exalts faith and knowledge.

The advent of Islam in India in the south dates back to the seventh century. The Muslims were welcomed by the Hindu princes because they obtained much profit from their trade. The Rajas of Malabar and the Coromandal coast and of Gujarat allowed them to settle in their dominions. The Rashtrakutas, whom they called Balahra (Vallabha Rai), were very friendly

to them. They were treated with respect, and allowed to practise their faith and to build their mosques.

After their conquest of India they spread rapidly in the whole country.

Administration.—The Rajput king was a hereditary sovereign whose authority was unlimited and autocratic, though usually paternal. He was not assisted in administration by any popular assembly or council of ministers. He appointed ministers and dismissed them at his pleasure. The number of ministers varied from eight to twelve; among them the most important was the prime minister; other ministers were in charge of foreign affairs (peace and war), revenue, treasury and army. Besides these the chief queen, the heir-apparent, the court priest (*Purohit*) and the court astrologer were important persons.

The main business of the state was administration, collection of revenue, dispensation of justice, maintenance of peace and order, and defence. Legislation was unknown, for the codes of laws were regarded as sacred.

Each kingdom was divided into provinces called *Bhukti* or *Mandal* or *Rashtra*, and each province into districts called *Vishaya*, which consisted of a number of villages (*grama*). The provincial authorities were known as *Rajasthaniyas* (viceroys), district authorities as *Vishayapatis*, and the village headmen as *Gramapatis*. The revenue and taxes were collected both in kind and cash.

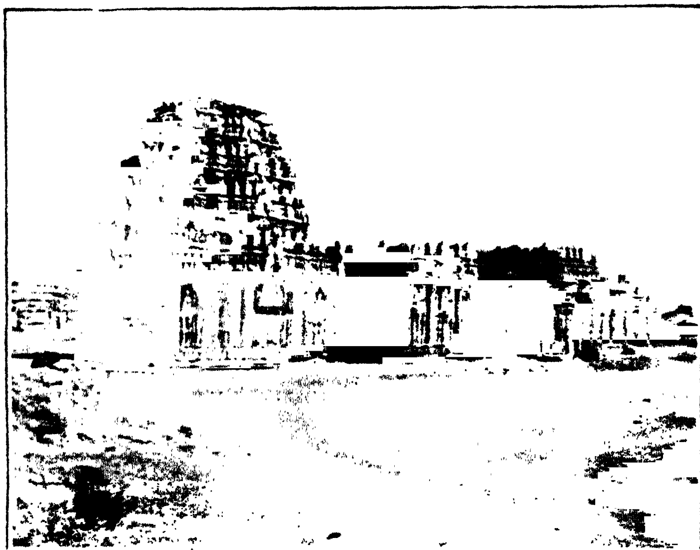
The king was the fountain of justice. He heard the important cases himself. For ordinary cases there were magistrates in the districts, who were assisted by police officers for the apprehension of thieves and criminals.

No difference was made between civil and criminal proceedings, and the punishments were similar for both kinds of offences. The Brahmans and the Kshattriyas were not punished with death for murder, but were expelled from the country and their property was confiscated. The punishments were severe, and trials by ordeal were common. The armies of the Rajput kings consisted of the levies of the Samantas (chiefs). The standing armies were small and rare. The elephants formed the main strength of the army as horses were few. The bulk of the army consisted of foot soldiers. The king was the leader in battle, and his death or disappearance from the field was the signal for the dissolution of the army.

In the dominions of the Cholas the villages had a highly developed form of administration. The chief authority was vested in an assembly of a group of villages. They managed the lands, administered charities, collected taxes, and supervised roads, tanks, gardens and temples. They also dispensed justice. The king's officers superintended their work. The assemblies were constituted of elected representatives of wards into which the villages were divided. The assemblies formed committees for the performance of different functions.

Literature and Art.—The Rajput kings were generous patrons of literature, and many of them were reputed authors themselves. There was no form of literature which was not cultivated, and books were written on scientific, legal and philosophical subjects. Among the poets who flourished during this period Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya,* and Magh, the author of *Sisupalabadha* belong to the early part of the eighth century. Jayadeva wrote *Gita Govinda* at the court of

King Lakshmana Sena (of Bengal). There were many noted writers of drama. Bhavabhuti, who lived in the first half of the eighth century, wrote a number of plays, among which *Malati Madhava* is the most popular. It relates the love story of Malati, daughter of the king's minister, and Madhava, a young scholar.



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ITTIGI TEMPLE OF MAHADEVA.

Vishakhadatta is noted for his *Mudra-Rakshasa*. The plot is based on the political intrigues of Chanakya, the Brahman minister of Chandragupta Maurya. *Prabodha Chandrodaya* ("The rise of the moon of knowledge") of Krishna Misra, which exalts the Vaishnava faith, is a drama in which the actors are not human beings but symbols and abstractions.

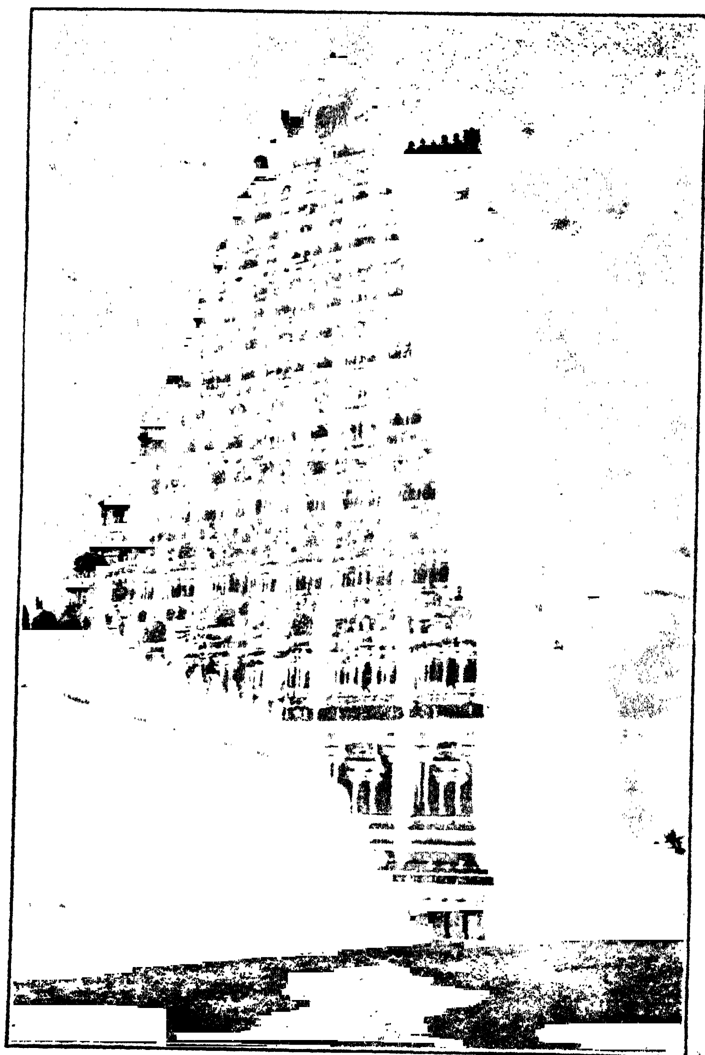


Photo *Klein and Peyerl.*

VALLALA GOPURAM, SRIRANGAM TEMPLE.

India has always been the home of fairy tales. During this period Kshemendra and Somadeva made collections of stories. The twenty-five stories of Vetala, the thirty-two stories of Vikrama's throne, and the



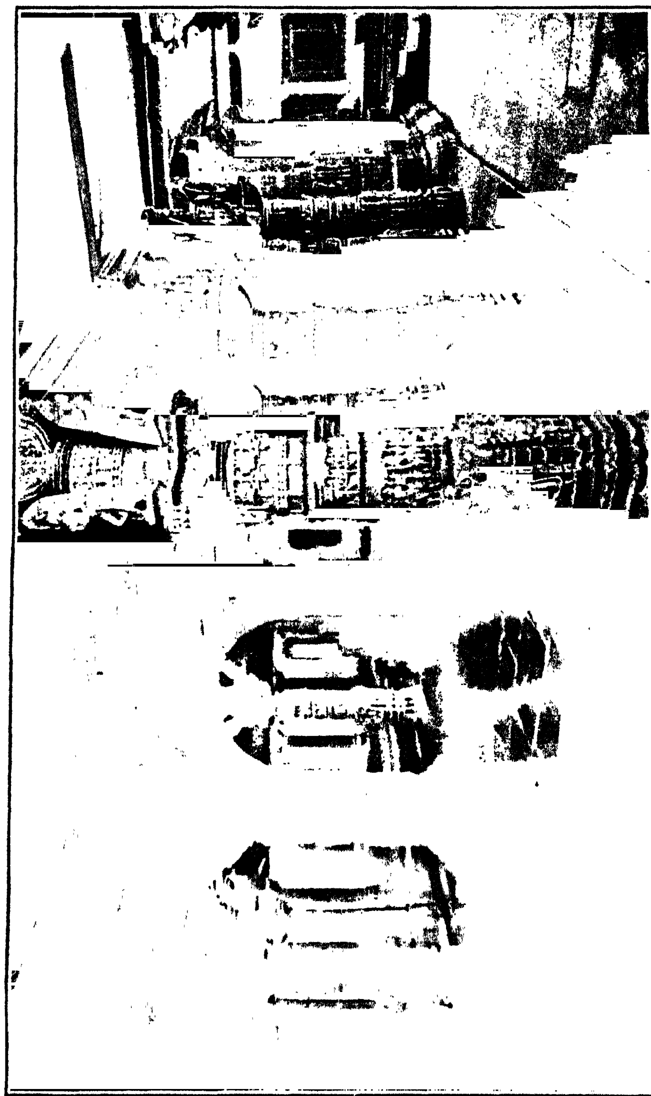
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COLOSSAL HORSE, KONARAK.

seventy stories of a parrot, were also compiled.

The historians of the age were Bilhana, who wrote the life of Vikramaditya Chalukya (1076-1172), and Kalhana of Kashmir, the author of *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir.

Among writers on law the most famous was Vijnanesvara, who wrote the commentary known as *Mitakshara*, which is still regarded as a standard work on Hindu Law.



INTERIOR, TEJPAL'S TEMPLE, MOUNT ABU.

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Sciences like mathematics, astronomy and medicine were cultivated, and important treatises were written on them.

The kings of the Rajput period lavished their wealth in erecting temples, and their devotion and piety have studded the country with the most wonderful specimens of architecture. Three types of temples were evolved. In the north the temples have towers (*Shikhara*) which rise in a continuous vertical line upwards; in the Chalukyan temples these towers are broken in stages; and in the Dravidian architecture of the south the stages become separate, so that the towers are really pyramidal piles of receding stories.

The finest specimens of the northern style are the temples of Bhuvaneshwara in Orissa, the temples of Siva at Udaipur in Malwa, and at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand; of the Chalukyan style the temples at Halebid in Mysore, and Ittigi near Hyderabad; of the Dravidian style those at Kanchi, Tanjore, Madura, Trichinopoly, and other places. The Jainas were great builders too. Their temples on Mount Abu and at Sravana Belgola are famous.

(d). Causes of the Downfall of the Rajputs

India reached a high degree of prosperity and civilisation during the Rajput period. Yet when its princes and peoples came into conflict with the Arabs and the Turks, who were not superior to them in intellect, wealth or culture, they were unable to withstand their attacks. Why did they fail so signally? Some historians have sought to explain their defeat by the fact that the Indians were inhabitants of a warm country and therefore weak, lazy and timorous, while the conquerors,

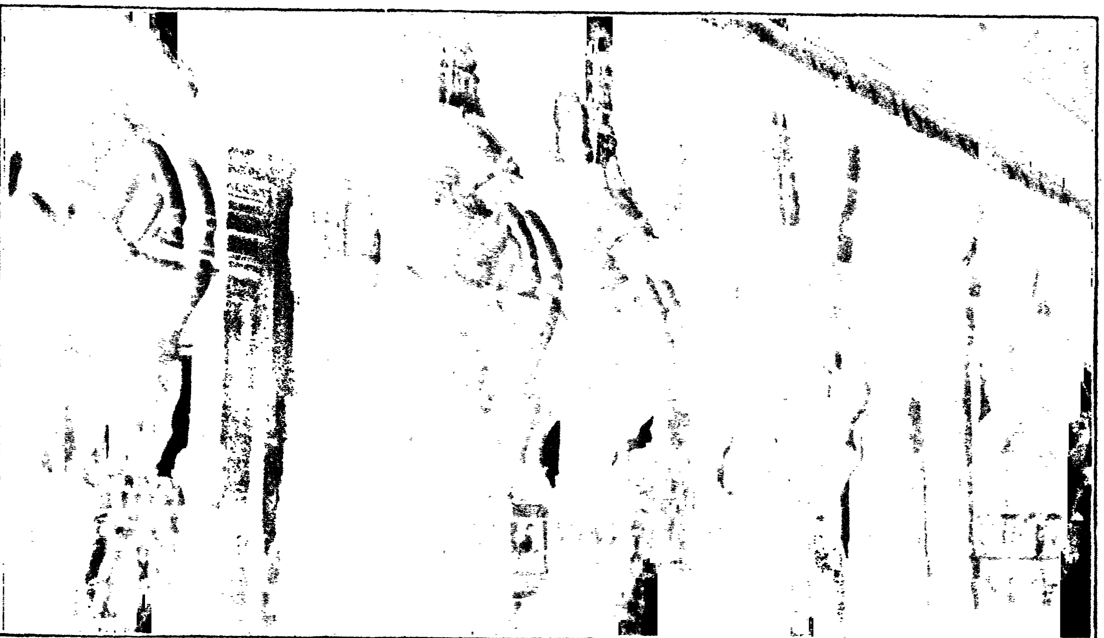


Photo *Klein and Peyerl.*
SRIRANGAM TEMPLE. HORSE COURT WITH BEAUTIFUL CARVED PILLARS DEPICTING WARRIORS ON REARING HORSES.

who hailed from cold regions, were strong, active and brave. This is not true. The Indian princes and their followers showed the same fierce courage, the same hardy endurance and physical strength, the same untiring energy as their foreign enemies. In fact the Turks and Afghans who conquered the Rajputs, and the inhabitants of the Punjab, Rajputana and Sindh who were vanquished by the Turks, belonged to the same race.

Nor was their religious zeal and piety of a higher order. Whatever may be true of the Muslims who fought under the first Caliphs, in later times they fought more for empire and wealth than for religion. Did not the Muslim princes, tribes and clans carry on incessant wars against one another for supremacy and power? The ties which bound the Turkish king and his chiefs were similar to the personal relations of the Rajput prince and his Samantas (chiefs). In either case the follower fought for the lord, and the battle hung upon the fate of the commander. His fall led in both cases to the flight of the army.

The secret of the success of the invaders must be sought in other causes, the most important among which was the superiority of their social organisation. The Hindu social system had no coherence or unity. The Hindus of India were one only in name. They were divided into numerous religious sects, and, therefore, did not form a single religious community. Not even did the members of a particular sect act as a solid group, because religion was more a personal matter than an affair of the community. There was no common worship. Again, Hindu society was divided into numerous sections and among them there was no sense of social oneness. There were numerous principalities

which were perpetually hostile to one another, and which took no interest in the humiliation of their neighbours at the hands of foreigners. In fact there was no sentiment of nationality, and no hostility against an alien because he was an alien.

The Hindu caste system was based on privilege, on the distinction of high and low, on inequality. There could not be any affection and solidarity between the privileged and the unprivileged, the Brahman and the Sudra or the untouchable. Again there could not be much strength in a society where the business of defending it and ruling it was solely the concern of the small upper caste, where the Vaisya and the Sudra, who represented the mass of the population, were indifferent to what happened to the state. The political interests to which the Kshattriyas were devoted were the fleeting fortunes of the ruling houses, not the permanent interests of culture, religion, society or country. The peoples of India were utterly lacking in unity, religious, political or social, their society was based on inequality and hence they were weak.

On the other hand, their conquerors possessed social solidarity. Their social system was founded on equality, on the recognition of the worth of every individual, rich or poor, high or low. Even a slave had an opportunity to become an emperor. Hence, although the Turks and Afghans were divided into tribes and clans politically jealous of one another, they had greater fellow-feeling and mutual sympathy.

Another cause of the failure of the Rajputs to resist the invaders was their military inferiority. The Indian armies were composed of masses of untrained levies. The elephants, the chariots and the foot soldiers

carrying various kinds of arms formed the bulk of the army. Their movement was slow and their power of offence limited. In defence they could easily be thrown into confusion and made helpless.

The Turks fought mainly on horse-back. They were the finest riders and archers of the world. They had a far greater range of effective operations. The onset of a cavalry squadron could hardly be checked by the undisciplined Indian infantry of those times. They could rapidly wheel round and attack the Indian mass from all sides. If repulsed they could retreat swiftly and save themselves from defeat; if successful, they simply butchered the congested ranks of their opponents who moved only towards the centre. Thus the superior social structure of the Muslims, which evoked stronger sentiments of union and a higher sense of human worth, and the superior military tactics of the Turks were responsible for the triumph of the invaders.

2. The Delhi Sultanate, 1200—1526

From the first conquest of India by the Turks to the establishment of the Mughal Empire is an age covering three centuries, during which Delhi was the centre of empire and its rulers belonged mainly to Turkish families.

(a). The Muslim Conquest of India

The Ghoris.—While the Rajputs of Northern India were exhausting their power in internecine wars, a new dynasty was establishing a principality in Afghanistan at the expense of the Ghaznavides. After the death of Mahmud in 1032, his empire had fallen a prey to the wars of succession. The Saljuq Turks, taking

advantage of its weakness, began to press upon it from the north, and the Chauhan Rajas of Delhi recovered the territories in the Southern Punjab, so that the empire was confined to Afghanistan and a portion of the Punjab only.

Soon after, a more serious menace to Ghaznavide power arose when the Chiefs of Ghor—a petty principality between Ghazni and Herat—came into conflict with them. In 1151 Alauddin Husain Ghori invaded the kingdom, captured Ghazni and burnt the city. The men were put to the sword, and the women and children were sold into slavery. Alauddin's nephew, Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam, put an end to the dynasty of Mahmud by seizing Khusrau Malik, the last ruler of the line, and by occupying the Punjab in 1186.

The Ghoris, who thus came into prominence, greatly extended their dominions under the leadership of the two brothers, Ghiyasuddin Muhammad and Muizuddin Muhammad, better known as Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. Ghiyasuddin, the elder of the two, was king at Ghor, and the younger, Muhammad Ghori, was his trusted general whose victories founded the empire.

The object of Muhammad Ghori's invasions of India was threefold: first to punish and overthrow the Muslim heretics who had established sway in Multan; secondly, to wreak vengeance upon the dynasty of Mahmud which governed the Punjab; and thirdly, to establish Ghori dominion in India.

The first object was accomplished in two expeditions (1176-8), when Multan and Uchchh were taken and the heretics were uprooted.

In order to realise the second object, Muhammad made an alliance with the Raja of Jammu, and led several expeditions into the Punjab (1179-86). In the last

expedition Khusrau Malik was taken prisoner and sent to Ghazni, where later he was put to death. Thus the Punjab came into the possession of the Ghoris.

The desire to conquer India had taken an early hold of the mind of Muhammad. In 1178 he had led an army from Multan through the desert of Rajputana to Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat. Raja Bhim Vaghela offered resistance, and inflicted upon him a defeat so great that he was compelled to retreat. In 1191, however, after he had acquired the Punjab, he again pursued his old designs and captured Bhatinda, which belonged to the kingdom of Delhi. Prithviraja advanced to attack him, and the Ghori and Chauhan forces met at the field of Taraori. Muhammad Ghori was defeated and his commandant had to surrender Bhatinda.

The next year (1192) Muhammad returned to wipe out the disgrace, and won a complete victory on the same field of battle over Prithviraja who fell fighting. The kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer passed into the hands of the invaders. The kingdom of Kanauj was attacked two years later, Jayachanda was defeated and slain at the battle of Chandawar (near Etawah), and Benares was occupied. In 1196, he took Bayana and invested Gwalior, which was allowed to remain in the possession of the Raja on payment of tribute.

Meanwhile Qutbuddin Aibak, the viceroy of the Ghoris in India, had captured many fortresses including Hansi, Meerut, Delhi, Koil and Ajmer. In 1195 he invaded Gujarat and plundered Anhilwara, and two years later again defeated Bhima of Gujarat.

An officer of Aibak, namely, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji, invaded Bihar and sacked the Buddhist monasteries. In 1202 he marched

organised attacks on the Hindu kingdoms which had not recognised the supremacy of the Turks.

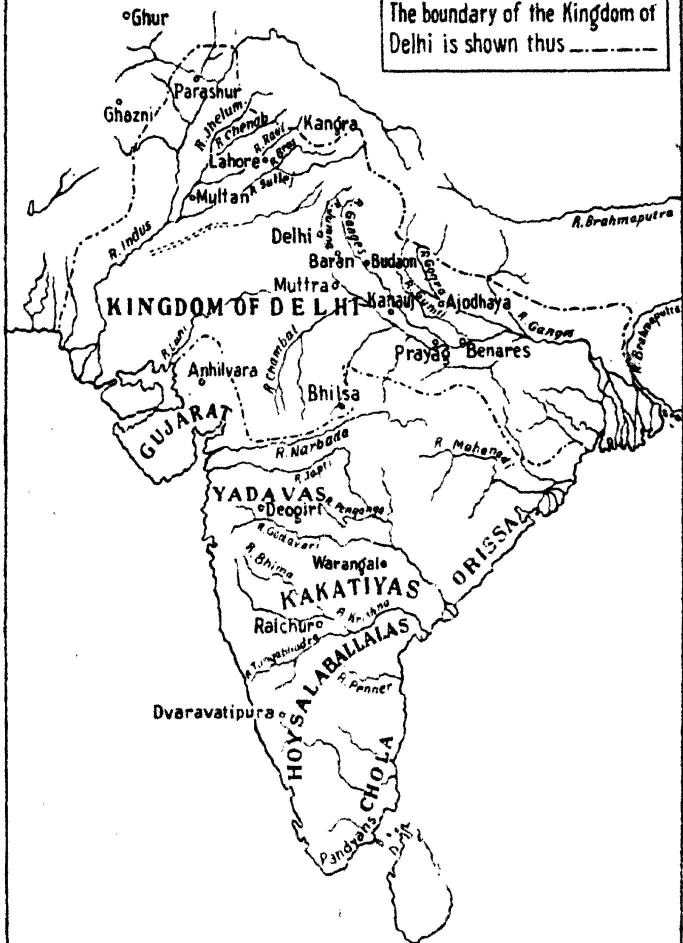
He first defeated Qutbuddin's son who had taken possession of Delhi. Next he proceeded to Lahore which had been occupied by Yilduz. He defeated Yilduz in 1216, imprisoned him and later executed him. Qabacha, who had seized Lahore after the defeat of Yilduz, was driven away and the Punjab came under his rule.

At this time the Mongols appeared upon the frontier of India in pursuit of Jalaluddin, a Central Asiatic king. But fortunately they retired, and did not cross the Indus. Qabacha had to protect Sindh from Jalaluddin's encroachments, and Iltutmish was not molested by him for many years. In 1228 Iltutmish made up his mind to put an end to his rival. He marched into Sindh and so vigorously pursued Qabacha that the latter drowned himself in the Indus. Multan and Sindh were annexed to the Delhi empire.

This success over his rivals made Iltutmish the undisputed master of Northern India. In 1225 he turned his attention to Bengal which had assumed independence under Iwaz, a Khalji noble. The rebel officer was defeated and later killed by the royal forces.

The fortresses of Ranthambhor and Gwalior, which had been partially subdued, were again attacked and the province of Malwa was raided and much booty obtained. When proceeding against the Khokars the Sultan fell ill, and died on his return to Delhi in 1236.

Iltutmish was the first Muslim ruler under whom the whole of India conquered by the Turks was united. Although his commands were obeyed in all the conquered provinces, the title of the slave Sultan to the throne


INDIA IN 1236
The boundary of the Kingdom of Delhi is shown thus
Ghur
Ghazni
Parashur
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
Kangra
Lahore
Multan
R. Sutlej
R. Indus
Delhi
R. Ganges
Baran
Budaon
Muttra
KINGDOM OF DELHI
Kanauj
Ajodhaya
R. Gogra
R. Brahmaputra
R. Ganges
Prayag
Benares
R. Luni
Anhilvara
R. Chambal
Bhilsa
GUJARAT
R. Narbada
R. Mahanadi
R. Tapti
YADAVAS
Deogiri
R. Godavari
R. Bhima
Warangal
KAKATIYAS
ORISSA
Raichur
R. Krishna
HOYSALABALLALAS
R. Penner
Dvaravatipura
CHOLA
Pandyans

of Delhi was never very strong, and, therefore, Iltutmish obtained a confirmation of the title from the Caliph of Baghdad, who was regarded as the highest spiritual and earthly authority among the Muslims.

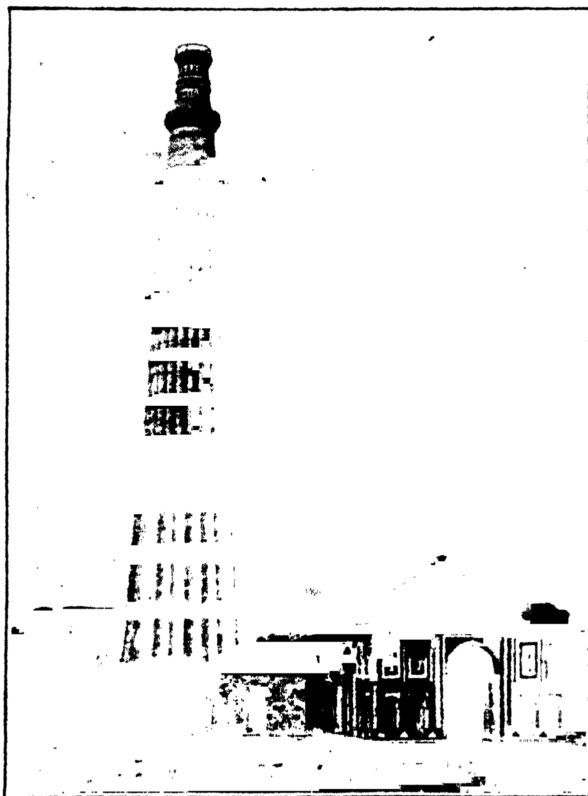
Iltutmish was a ruler of unusual vigour. During his reign of twenty-six years he never showed any relaxation from the labours of maintaining his empire which was threatened by enemies from within and without. In fact he left to his successors a dominion larger than the one he had received, and he also laid the foundations of a system of administration which lasted for a long time. He was not only a good soldier and administrator, but also a patron of learned and pious men and a great builder. Of his buildings the Qutub Minar of Delhi is the most famous.

The Ten Years of Anarchy.—Confusion prevailed in the realm during the ten years following the death of Iltutmish. The Forty Slaves of Iltutmish, who were his chief officers, had formed themselves into a league which attempted to dictate the policy of the state and to raise to the throne rulers subservient to them; and they thwarted every attempt to diminish their power. Sultana Razia, who had been nominated to the throne by her father, reigned for a little over three years (1236-39) and was deposed by the Forty. Her successors were mere puppets.

Their reigns were " full of murder, treachery and intrigue." The Mongols, who since 1216 had been hovering on the Indian frontier, now entered India and appeared before Lahore. The governor made a feeble defence and the city fell into their hands in 1241, and they harried Multan, Sindh, and the Punjab. In the east, Bengal and Bihar became independent and the

Hindu Raja of Orissa successfully marched through Bengal in 1243.

Nasiruddin Mahmud, 1246-66.—The situation in the kingdom was desperate when Nasiruddin Mahmud, a son of Iltutmish, was raised to the throne by the nobles



QUTUB MINAR.
From Von Helmuthe Glasenapp's *Der Indische Kultur Kries.*
[*By permission of the Author and Publisher (G. Muller, München.)*]

in 1246. In Balban he found a supremely capable minister who guided the destinies of the state for the next forty years. Although Mahmud occupied the throne, Balban, his lieutenant, was the real ruler. After his death Balban assumed the kingship in name as well as in fact.

Balban was faced with two difficult problems—firstly the defence of the country from the invasions of the Mongols, and secondly the establishment of order in the kingdom. The two problems were connected, because internal disorder gave encouragement to the Mongols to attack the kingdom.

The main factors in the creation of internal disorder were two—the recalcitrant league of the Forty Slaves and the turbulent Hindu barons and chiefs. In order to realise the difficulties of Balban it is necessary to understand the position of the Forty Slaves and the Hindu chiefs. The conquest of India by Muhammad Ghori and his captains, Aibak and Iltutmish, had led to the military occupation of the country. The conquerors, however, had not sufficient officers and men to undertake the direct administration of the conquered lands. Therefore they divided the country into provinces, and entrusted the command of the fortresses, from which the provinces (*vilayat*) could be controlled, to their important and trusted officers (*Walis* and *Muqtas*) who where required to maintain troops and collect revenues. Again, in the absence of a regular civil service, the estates of the Hindus were allowed to remain in the hands of the Hindu Rais and Rajas, and the old Hindu village organisation was left undisturbed. Thus between the king and his subjects were two kinds of intermediaries, *viz.*, the Muslim commanders and the Hindu chiefs.

In the time of Iltutmish the important commanders formed the league of the Forty. They were jealous of the ascendancy of Balban and desired to bring about his downfall. Their intrigues and revolts were a source of great disturbance. The Hindu chiefs, who had their own castles and retainers, and who paid their revenues only under compulsion or fear, took advantage of this state of disaffection to refuse payment and to assert their independence. Circumstances helped the rebels. The country was in that period thinly populated and largely covered with forests, through which passed roads communicating with the provinces. It was easy to defy authority and hold up the movement of the royal troops in the jungles. Throughout the reign of Mahmud, Balban, whose authority depended upon the support and confidence of the Sultan, was continually thwarted by the Forty, and their conduct gave encouragement to the Hindus and the Mongols.

The Punjab and Multan were the first to receive Balban's attention. In 1246 he recovered the Punjab from the enemies, punished the Khokars and drove out the Mongols. He spent the next five years in subduing the Hindu chiefs in the Doab (between the Ganges and the Jumna) and the Mewat (territory south of Delhi and including Mathura and Alwar), and in sending expeditions to Gwalior, Chanderi and Malwa. His successes made the Forty redouble their efforts to destroy his influence, and in 1253 they succeeded in persuading Mahmud to banish him from Delhi. But his removal was followed by disturbances in all parts of the realm, and all the great nobles urged upon him to resume authority. In 1254 the Sultan recalled Balban and dismissed his enemies from office.

Balban at once took strong measures to put down the rebellious chiefs. The disobedient governors were deprived of their office, and chased out of the kingdom. Those who made their submission, however, were forgiven. While these affairs were going on the Mongols invaded the Punjab. Balban summoned the armies to meet the invaders who retired to Persia. At the same time expeditions were sent against the chiefs of the Doab and Mewat who were creating disorder. The Mewatis were punished in 1260 with terrible ferocity. The stern measures seem, however, to have produced the desired effect, for during the following years there was quiet in the kingdom.

Balban, 1266-86.—On the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud, Balban ascended the throne in 1266. He was now able to accomplish his task with greater facility. He reformed the administration and re-asserted the power of the king. Among his important measures were the re-organisation of the army and increase of its efficiency, the establishment of a spy system in order to keep himself informed of the doings of the officials and of happenings in the kingdom, and the rigorous dispensation of justice irrespective of persons. He appointed trusted officers—usually his relatives, to the important provincial governorships, and gave the charge of the Frontier Provinces to his ablest son. He removed suspected officers from their posts, closely scrutinised the grants made to them, and frequently transferred them. He cleared the jungles round Delhi and the Doab, and built roads which were properly guarded. He undertook no expeditions for the extension of his dominions, but prevented all encroachments on his frontiers. At his court he observed a rigid etiquette, and allowed no unseemly or undignified conduct.

The effect of these measures was that the kingdom enjoyed a peace which was little disturbed by rebellions. The Hindus of Mewat and the Doab were kept in effective check, and the only rebellion he had to suppress was that of Tughril, governor of Bengal, who in 1279 withheld the tribute and repudiated his allegiance to Delhi. Balban marched into Bengal, defeated and slew him and made a terrible example of those who had participated in the rebellion.

The north-west frontier, which was menaced several times by the advance of the Mongols, was well guarded by his governors of Multan and Samana. But in 1285, Prince Muhammad, his eldest son, was killed fighting against them, and the shock hastened the death of the aged Sultan.

Balban's Character.—Balban had an exalted idea of the kingly office, and his behaviour was dignified and reserved. He was a strict disciplinarian, a hard-working monarch who expected his officers to maintain a high standard of efficiency. He was severe on his lieutenants, and terrible in punishing the unruly and disobedient. He was a vigorous administrator and an intrepid general. He was a loving father and a kind-hearted man, who was fond of learning and culture.

Balban's Successors.—Balban's eldest son, Muhammad, had died before his father; the second son, Bughra Khan, was governor of Bengal and he did not aspire to the crown of Delhi. Balban had nominated Kai-Khusrau, son of Muhammad, as his successor, but the nobles raised Kaiqubad, son of Bughra, to the throne. Kaiqubad was a boy who gave himself up to pleasure, and his minister, Nizamuddin, carried on the government. The minister's partiality and insolence led to

FARMAN OF GHIYASUDDIN BALBAN,
27th February, A.D 1273
(Loan Collection of Antiquities)

hostilities between the Turki and the Khalji nobles. At last Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji seized the power, and Kaiqubad was ignominiously killed.

Administration of the Kingdom under the Slave Sultans.—The kingdom was divided into provinces in charge of governors. But the exact boundaries of these provinces were not marked out. The provinces were of two types, those which centred round Delhi and those which were on the confines of the kingdom. Delhi and its environs formed a province by itself, but it was governed directly by the king. The provinces were about twenty in number.

Each province had a capital town which was the stronghold of the governor. Here resided the garrison of troops which kept the country under control. The governor not only was responsible for maintaining peace and order, but also for collecting revenue. The villages in the province paid the land revenue, either directly to the officers appointed by the governor, or to the persons to whom the king granted or assigned the revenue, or to their old chiefs (Rajas and Rais). The number of villages directly paying to the government officials was small, so also was the number of grant-holders or assignment-holders. Most of the villages were in the hands of Hindu chiefs, who were constantly rebelling against authority.

The villages were grouped into Parganas. Each Pargana had a headman and an accountant (*Chaudhri* and *Qanungo*). The village headman and accountant were called *Muqaddam* and *Patwari* respectively.

The assignments, or *Iqtas*, were given to troopers and commanders for military service. Grants, which

did not involve liability to military service, were made to men of religion and learning.

The government dealt with the holders of assignments and the chiefs, and did not interfere in their relations with the peasants and cultivators: its revenue consisted of receipts from lands directly administered by its officials (*Khalsa*), and the revenue remitted from provinces by the assignment-holders and chiefs. In the collection of revenue the government "aimed at a peaceful and contented peasantry, raising ample produce and paying a reasonable revenue." The collectors of this revenue were mainly Hindu village officials, and the intermediaries between the villages and the state were also largely Hindu chiefs. The Muslim commanders and governors were few, and they held the country by means of garrisons maintained in fortresses scattered over the land. The Muslim system of administration differed little from that of the Hindus. The Muslim Sultans replaced Hindu Rajas, but the Hindus were treated with justice and tolerance, although there were occasional cases of tyranny. The Muslim rulers were not actuated by a desire to propagate Islam by force, or to administer the country in accordance with the wishes of narrow-minded and bigoted theologians.

(c). The Khaljis, 1290—1320

Jalaluddin Khalji, who ascended the throne in 1290, was an old man. He was kind, gentle, simple and forbearing. He was not disposed to take stern measures against the rebels. He forgave even those who entertained seditious designs against his rule or raised the standard of revolt. He was a peace-loving man, who led few conquering expeditions. He allowed even the

Mongols to settle down in the neighbourhood of Delhi. They were converted and were known as the new Muslims. They were responsible for much intrigue and disorder.

The only noteworthy event of his reign was the raid of Alauddin on Devagiri in 1294. Alauddin, who was the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan, was governor of Kara and Oudh. His mind was poisoned against his uncle by his counsellors and the intrigues of his wife and mother-in-law. He was very ambitious and desirous of establishing a principality for himself. He had heard of the fabulous wealth of the Deccan, and he also knew of the divisions and feuds of the princes in that region. He determined to take advantage of their weakness to obtain the booty which he could utilise in realising his aims. Without informing the Sultan of his project he led an expedition to the south. He marched through Central India and the Vindhyan region and arrived before Devagiri. Ramchandra Yadava was taken unawares. He was utterly unprepared for the attack, for his son, Sankar, had gone southwards with the greater part of the army. He, therefore, made proposals of peace which Alauddin accepted. Sankar, who now returned to Devagiri, disapproved of the terms and offered battle, but his forces were defeated and Ramchandra had to sue for peace again. He had to pay an enormous indemnity, and Alauddin returned to Kara with an immense quantity of gold and other precious articles.

Jalaluddin set out from Delhi to congratulate his nephew on the success of his wonderful exploit, and to claim the state's share of the booty. The crafty nephew, who was aiming now at the throne of Delhi

lured the trustful old man to Kara unarmed and unattended by his troops. While embracing him he gave a sign, and his men murdered the Sultan and his companions.

Alauddin, 1296-1316.—Alauddin was now proclaimed king, and he proceeded to Delhi where he won over the nobles and the army by lavish bribes. The empire which he thus acquired by treachery, he ruled for twenty years (1296-1316) with unprecedented success.

Since the death of Balban, through the weakness of his successors, the change of dynasty, and the mildness of Jalaluddin, the central authority had become weak. The usual consequences followed. the Mongols resumed their annual plundering raids, the Muslim noblemen were disaffected against the new dynasty, and the Hindu chiefs became rebellious. Alauddin faced the difficulties boldly, and adopted strong measures to overcome them. The success that he attained gave him the opportunity fully to satisfy his desire for conquest and glory. His reign falls into four periods.

I. During the first period (1296-1302) Alauddin was mainly engaged in repelling the Mongol invasions, fighting the Rajputs and reducing their forts, and suppressing the insurrections of the noblemen, the new Muslims, and others. The only conquest of the period was that of the kingdom of Gujarat-Anhilwara, the capital was captured, Raja Karan fled to Devagiri and Alauddin appointed his own governor to administer the country. Alauddin then began to entertain very grand designs of conquest and religious reform, but he found that it was impossible to realise them without establishing permanent order and without

removing the principal factors of disturbance which had gained strength in the previous reigns.

The Muslim nobility had been allowed to become strong by the neglect of the Sultans in scrutinising their affairs. They were disaffected and they plotted against the state in their social gatherings. The Hindu chiefs had grown prosperous during the weak and mild rule of Alauddin's predecessors, and wealth had made them proud and seditious.

In 1302 Alauddin issued several ordinances against both. He confiscated all the religious endowments given to the Muslims, all the lands held as free gifts or as private property, and he ordered the collectors to realise the full amount of revenue. He established a body of spies who reported to the king everything which happened in the houses of the Muslim nobility. He prohibited wine parties, and ordered that no social gatherings and marriages should take place without his permission.

Against the Hindu chiefs his decrees were even more severe. He reduced their income by fixing the share of the state at one half of the produce of land, by abolishing their perquisites, and by levying a tax on grazing lands. Thus the chiefs were impoverished, and the surplus income came into the royal treasury. Deprived of their income the chiefs were unable to keep horses, or carry arms, or enjoy luxuries.

These measures achieved the object in view, and during the remainder of his reign there was no serious internal revolt.

II. 1302-07.—The task of establishing order and security within the kingdom was now complete and the Sultan turned his attention to the external foes of the kingdom. The Mongols had invaded India several

times already during his reign. Their first serious incursion had been in 1299, under Qutlugh Khwaja, when they had reached Delhi, but were compelled to retreat by the valour of the royal troops under Zafar Khan. In 1302, while the Sultan's armies were engaged in Mewar and the Deccan, they appeared in India again, and swiftly overran the Punjab and laid siege to Delhi, but they retired from India suddenly. Their repeated invasions, however, made it necessary to devise methods to save India from their menace.

Plans for increasing the strength of the army were drawn up, but the difficulty was how to pay the additional troops without increasing greatly the expenses of the state. The difficulty was overcome by fixing the salary of the soldiers at a low figure, and at the same time regulating the prices of the necessaries of life so as to make them cheap. Accordingly regulations were made in 1309 by which the prices of the articles of food and other necessaries were fixed. Methods were adopted to maintain a constant and abundant supply of them, and officers were appointed to superintend the markets in order to prevent dishonest dealings on the part of the merchants. Not much hardship was caused by the regulations because high prices ruled only in Delhi and its suburbs.

These measures enabled the Sultan to maintain a large standing army which challenged the Mongols whenever they crossed the Indian frontier, punished them and drove them across the Indus. After this the Mongols did not venture to invade India during Alauddin's reign.

During this period (1301-07) Alauddin made the final conquest of Ranthambhor (1301), which was defended by

Hammir and his faithful Muslim general, Mir Muhammad Shah, but was lost because of the treachery of his two Hindu commanders, Ratipala and Krishnapala.

Next year he turned to Mewar, captured Chitor and carried Rana Ratan Singh a prisoner to Delhi. By 1305 the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar, and Chanderi were conquered and Malwa was annexed. Thus the whole of Northern India was brought under the sway of the Delhi empire.

III. 1307-13.—The affairs of the Deccan now demanded Alauddin's attention. There were four important kingdoms in India south of the Vindhyas. The Yadava kingdom, with its capital at Devagiri, occupied the western half of the Deccan; the Kakatiya kingdom, with Warangal as its capital, occupied the eastern half; the Hoysalas occupied the territories to the south of the Krishna river, with their capital at Dvarasamudra; and in the extreme south was the kingdom of the Pandyas, who had reduced the Cholas to a position of subordination.

The Yadavas had agreed to pay tribute in 1294, but had failed to remit it for some years, and had given refuge to Raja Karan who had fled from Gujarat when the Delhi armies invaded it in 1298. Malik Kafur was entrusted with the command of the expedition. He laid waste the country and obliged Ramchandra to sue for peace. On the death of Ramchandra, his son, Sankar, became the ruler, but he defied the imperial authority. Malik Kafur attacked Devagiri, put Sankar to death and annexed the Yadava territories.

In 1308 Malik Kafur was sent to Telingana, the kingdom of the Kakatiyas. Raja Pratap Deva shut himself up in the fort of Warangal, but after a long siege submitted, offered his treasures and agreed to pay

tribute. He was allowed to retain his kingdom as a feudatory of the empire.

Soon after Malik Kafur returned to the south to subdue the Hoysala kingdom. He marched from Devagiri to Dvarasamudra (Halebid in Mysore State). Vira Ballala, the Raja, was captured in the attack upon the capital, and much booty fell into the hands of Kafur. The Hoysalas became vassals of the Sultan of Delhi.

From Dvarasamudra, Kafur proceeded further south, and entered the Pandya kingdom in response to the appeal of one of the Pandya princes who was fighting his brother for the throne. Malik Kafur plundered Srirangam and Madura, and defeated both the brothers He returned to Delhi in 1311 laden with the immense spoil which he had seized in the south.

The effect of Malik Kafur's expeditions in the Deccan and the south was that the kingdom of Devagiri was annexed, and the kingdoms of the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas became tributary to the Delhi empire. Alauddin's empire thus comprised the whole country from Multan to Madura, and from Sonargaon to Thatta and Broach. Delhi was its centre. Immediately round Delhi were provinces where Alauddin's government had brought the people directly into relations with his officers. Here the policy as laid down in the ordinances was fully carried out and authority was centralised. But in the outlying provinces the old system continued.

IV. 1313-16.—The last years of Alauddin were unhappy. Malik Kafur, who was his favourite, had been made his chief lieutenant. He intrigued against Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, and brought about his imprisonment. He also disgraced other noblemen, and these tyrannical acts produced much

discontent. Rebellions broke out in the provinces, and the Sultan, whose health had been failing for some time, was unable to bear the shock of these events. He fell seriously ill and died in 1316.

Alauddin's Character.—Alauddin was a most remarkable ruler. He combined in himself the qualities of a bold and adventurous soldier, a stern and resolute administrator and an unscrupulous but clear-headed statesman. His expedition to Devagiri was a marvellous undertaking which showed great leadership. The measures taken to suppress internal disorders and to maintain a standing army were statesmanlike, and they were executed with determination. But in dealing with his enemies or with rebels, his ferocity knew no bounds, and in the attainment of his objects he was ruthless, and cared neither for friends nor relations. His memory will ever remain stained with the blood of his gentle and unsuspecting uncle.

His policy was not determined by religious laws and injunctions, for he paid little heed to the advice of priests. He was a practical ruler whose conduct was guided by the circumstances of the times and the needs of the situation.

Alauddin was fond of architecture, and among the monuments of his reign are the mosque at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya (at Delhi), and the Alai gate at the Qutub Mosque. His court was attended by many literary men, among whom the most famous was Amir Khusrau, who wrote not only in Persian but also in Hindi.

Alauddin's Successors.—On the death of Alauddin, Malik Kafur imprisoned his sons and raised a child to the throne. But the other nobles slew Kafur and

Kabul
Peshawar
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Beas
R. Sutlej
Kangra
Multan
R. Indus
Delhi
Boran
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
Katehr
SIND
Ranthambhore
R. Chambal
OUDH
R. Gogra
R. Ganges
Tatta
Chitore
Anhilvara
Prayag
BENGAL
Gaur
R. Narbada
R. Mahanadi
R. Tapti
Deogir
(Doulalabad)
ORISSA
R. Bhima
Warangal
R. Krishna
R. Tungabhadra
R. Penner
Dvaravatipura
Rameshwar
Madura

INDIA
IN 1318

The Land Frontier of the Kingdom of Delhi is shown thus



proclaimed Mubarak king. Mubarak undid the work of his father and withdrew his measures. He took steps to quell the revolts in the provinces, and finally annexed and colonised Devagiri in 1318. But conspiracies were started against him, and he suppressed them with great bloodshed. He became addicted to vice, and his trusted favourite, Khusrau Khan, treacherously murdered him. Khusrau now assumed the reins of government, but his behaviour alienated every one. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, who was governor of Multan, then advanced upon Delhi, defeated Khusrau's forces and put him to death.

(d). The Tughluqs, 1320—1413

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq Shah was an old man when he came to the throne. But he was a strong and capable ruler, and within a short time he restored peace and order in the kingdom. He enforced again the good laws of Alauddin, and undertook measures to encourage agriculture. For example, he dug canals to extend the area under cultivation, and he fixed low rates of land-tax so as to give relief to cultivators and to encourage them to bring waste lands under the plough. The tax on Hindu chiefs and landlords was, however, kept high, and they were not allowed to grow wealthy. The postal system was perfected. Horse-men and runners were posted at short distances along the roads to carry letters with as much speed as possible from one stage to the next.

The replacement of the old dynasty by a new ruler led, as usual, to troubles in the distant provinces of the empire. The Kakatiya Raja of Warangal repudiated the authority of the Sultan, and Tughluq Shah sent his son Muhammad to subjugate him. Muhammad marched

to Warangal. But the evil counsels of his favourites led him to form designs of assuming the royal authority. The chief nobles, however, turned against him, and the Hindus compelled him to retire. He returned to Delhi and begged forgiveness of his father, who allowed him to lead another expedition to Warangal. The Raja was then forced to surrender, and the kingdom of Telingana was again made subject to Delhi.

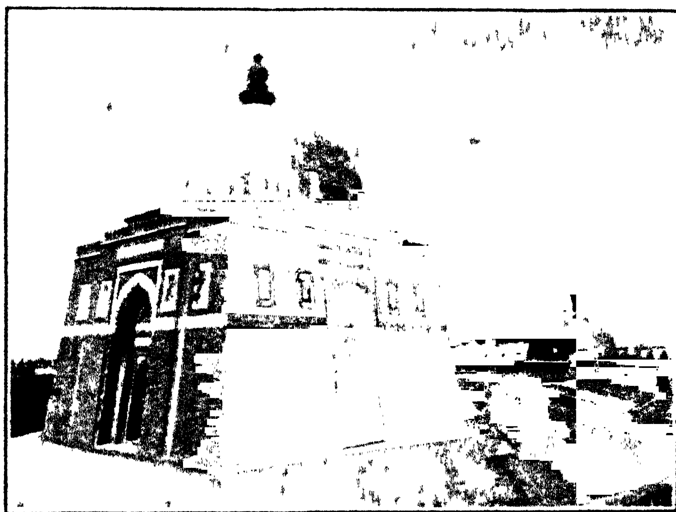
In Bengal the descendants of Balban ruled the country owing little allegiance to Delhi. A civil conflict broke out among them, and Tughluq Shah took advantage of it to interfere with their affairs. He proceeded to Bengal and brought under his control both Western and Eastern Bengal.

Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad, who had returned from the Deccan, was making preparations to usurp the throne. As Tughluq Shah returned from Bengal, the son received him in a specially built pavilion a few miles out of Delhi.

The building fell down upon the old king and killed him, and Muhammad Tughluq ascended the throne in 1325.

Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, 1325-51.— Muhammad bin Tughluq was an extraordinary man. Nature had endowed him with intellectual powers of the highest order. He had a marvellous memory, a clear understanding, and an elegant taste. He surpassed his contemporaries in knowledge of the sciences. He was no mean poet, and he was an eloquent and accomplished scholar. His generosity and liberality knew no bounds. He followed the tenets of his religion strictly and lived a blameless life. Yet there was no bigotry in him. He did not pay any regard to the ecclesiastics,

and towards the Hindus he showed tolerance. He tried to introduce social reforms among them, for instance, the suppression of *sati*. He appointed a Hindu as governor of the province of Sindh, and employed others in high posts. But with all his virtues Muhammad's character suffered from very serious defects. He was an idealist and no practical statesman; he was impatient, obstinate and short-tempered. He did not listen to counsel, could



TOMB OF TUGHLUQ SHAH

not bear opposition and he treated those who opposed him with the utmost cruelty.

Muhammad Tughluq's reign is one continuous series of calamities caused by nature and by man. The fourteenth century was unfortunately a period of climatic stress. Some parts of the world suffered from unusual cold and wet, others from drought. The result of either

condition was misery, famine and pestilence. The crisis was reached sometime in the second quarter of the century, when the Black Death swept over Asia and Europe, and India passed through the agony caused by the scarcity of rain and the failure of crops. Many of the disasters of Muhammad's rule were directly or indirectly caused by these conditions. During the first ten years (1325-35) Muhammad was fairly successful in meeting the difficulties of government, but the acute agricultural distress of the next seven years (1335-42) shook the foundations of his power, and the last years of the reign (1342-51) were marked by failure.

Administrative Measures, 1325-35.—Since the death of Alauddin Khalji the revenue system had fallen into decay. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq partly revived it, but he had to make changes in order to relieve the peasants from crop failures. He gave up the method of fixing the revenue demand of the state on the basis of the measurement of land, and introduced the method of sharing the actual produce. He also began to require that the governors should pay into the state treasury not the actual land-tax realised, but a fixed sum which was stipulated between the revenue ministry and the governor. Then, again, he modified the policy of Alauddin towards the Hindu chiefs and headmen. He allowed them to collect their perquisites, and did not tax their income from pasture lands.

Muhammad's attention was early directed to these matters. It is likely that the revenue had been affected by the adverse conditions of nature and the mild policy of his father. In any case he desired to enhance it. He, therefore, introduced the same method of revenue collection in the outlying provinces of the empire as existed

in the midland provinces round Delhi. The provincial land-tax was farmed out to the governors, the intermediary chiefs were replaced, and in the central provinces new cesses were introduced. The effect was a sudden and a large increase in the revenues of the Sultan, which he lavished in largesses on foreigners and favourites.

But the measures were unpopular, and soon resentment arose against him. Some of the farmers were cheats and did not pay into the treasury the stipulated amounts, and then rebelled. The central provinces groaned under heavy taxation, and the lands began to fall out of cultivation. The process was intensified by the failure of rains.

At this juncture, the Sultan determined to transfer the capital to Devagiri which he named Daulatabad. Devagiri was more central than Delhi, for the danger of the Mongol invasions in the north had greatly diminished, while the kingdoms of the Deccan and the south had been recently conquered and needed closer attention. The evacuation of Delhi, however, abolished the market for the produce of the Doab, and further ruined the cultivators. When, after some years, the Sultan realised his mistake, he came back to the old capital. Delhi, however, did not regain its old prosperity for many years.

The country round Delhi and in the Doab was goaded into rebellion by the additional taxation. Muhammad treated the inhabitants as enemies and inflicted upon them severe punishments. But when these failed to bring about peace, he attempted to undo the evil by introducing improvements in the land. A new department was set up to effect these. Wells were dug

and advances of money were made. But the measures were too late, as the rains failed for seven years in succession.

About the same time that the capital was transferred, the Sultan attempted to reform the monetary system of India. Coins of gold, silver and copper formed the Indian currency. So long as the ratio between the values of these remained constant, there was security in trade and economic transactions. But changes produced confusion. At this time the conquest of the Deccan had greatly increased the amount of gold in the north, and, therefore, disturbed the ratio between gold and silver. In order to restore the balance and to increase the amount of currency, the Sultan ordered that token coins of copper and brass should be struck, and that these should represent the value of silver coins of the same weight and pass for them. This necessary and useful measure, however, failed because the token coins could be manufactured by every one, and care was not taken that they should be struck by the mints of the state only.

Expeditions, 1325-35.—A number of risings of disaffected officers in the first years of the reign were easily put down. Then a plan was made for the conquest of Khorasan, for the disturbed conditions in Persia and Central Asia had forced many noblemen to migrate to India.

Muhammad not only allowed these to settle here, but showered honour and wealth upon them. They persuaded him to collect an army to conquer the countries of Iran and Khorasan which were in a state bordering upon anarchy. The army was assembled, but the difficulties of a campaign in a distant country prevented the undertaking of the expedition.

The Famine of 1335-42.—The continued scarcity of rains affected not only the Gangetic Doab and Delhi, but also other provinces like Malwa. The severity of the Sultan towards his subjects made the conditions worse. When, therefore, he changed his policy, it failed to benefit the people. He was forced to carry the hungry populace to a new town, which he built on the Ganges about 150 miles from Delhi, in 1336, and which he named Swargdvara (the gate of heaven). The people were fed from the produce of Oudh which was not much affected by famine. The failure of rains naturally diminished cultivation and the revenues of the state. The king was unable to organise expeditions to suppress sedition, and disorder and rebellion broke out in the provinces.

The governor of the southern province of Mabar (Coromandal coast) was the first to rebel, and to become independent in 1335.

In Bengal an officer killed the governor and set up an independent kingdom in 1337. A campaign in the Himalayas against the hill chieftains succeeded in making them pay tribute, but the army was wiped out. The governor of Oudh revolted in 1341, but was defeated and degraded. In 1342 trouble arose in Sindh and the Sultan marched there and quelled it. Thus, although important provinces on the frontier were lost, order was restored in Hindustan.

The Last Years, 1341-51.—A number of causes combined to bring about the disasters of the last years of the reign. The decline in the revenues of the empire was one. The harshness of the Sultan against the revenue collectors, who were in many cases rapacious farmers, was another. The immigration

and settlement of Mongol and other foreign nobles in the provinces was a third cause of disorder. These noblemen attracted by the gifts of the Sultan had come to India with their families and followers, and were appointed to various commands and given assignments of land. Many of them turned unfaithful, became leaders of insurrections, and had to be severely punished. Then the state of general discontent and disturbance encouraged the Hindu chiefs and Muslim governors to assert independence.

In the Deccan disintegration had begun with the revolt of Mabar. In 1344, Krishna Kakatiya organised a confederacy, and the provinces of Kambala, Warangal and Dvarasamudra shook off the yoke of the empire. In 1346 Vijayanagar became the centre of a powerful southern state. The province of Daulatabad was next affected. The foreign nobles of Malwa and Gujarat had taken up arms against the empire, but driven from these provinces they took shelter with their relations in the Deccan. They joined together and seized the fort of Daulatabad. The Sultan was unable to crush them, for when he advanced against them a revolt broke out in Gujarat. In 1347 Hasan Kangu was elected by them as their king. He assumed the title of Bahman Shah and laid the foundation of the Bahmani dynasty. The whole of the Deccan was thus lost.

The rebellion in Gujarat and Kathiawar took three years to settle (1347-50), and then the Sultan proceeded to Sindh with contingents collected from these provinces to punish the governor who had sheltered the rebel chief of Gujarat. While on his way to Thatta Muhammad fell ill and died in 1351.

The Traveller, Ibn Batuta.—During the reign of Muhammad, Ibn Batuta, a native of Tangier in northern Africa, visited India. He remained in India from 1333 to 1342. He was received by the Sultan with great honour and appointed the chief Qazi of Delhi. He has left an interesting account of the country, its king and peoples.

Firoz Tughluq, 1351-88.—Firoz was the son of Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din. His mother belonged to the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. Sultan Muhammad had advanced Firoz to high office and marked him out as his successor. When, therefore, Muhammad died, Firoz was proclaimed king. The devout and studious Firoz was entirely under the influence of learned theologians. He tried to rule the country in accordance with the wishes of these bigots. For the first time in the history of Muslim rule in India, measures based upon religious bigotry were enforced. The poll-tax (*Jaziya*) was levied upon the Brahmans, and conversions were encouraged. Decrees for regulating the dress, food, and adornments of the Muslims were proclaimed. Apart from religious bigotry, however, the king was a mild, humane, and pleasure-loving ruler; he was weak and irresolute, devoid of ambition for conquest and glory, and lacking in stern and martial qualities. He had, however, the welfare of his people at heart. He worked for their prosperity and health. He dug canals and built hospitals, schools and rest houses. He was fond of laying out gardens and cities and erecting fine buildings.

Firoz ruled over an empire reduced by the independence of the Deccan and Bengal. He made no attempts to obtain control over the Deccan, even

when his intervention was sought by the Bahmanis. He tried twice to bring Bengal under his sway. The first expedition was led by him in 1353-54; it penetrated through Bengal to Ikdala, but failed. The second expedition of 1359-60 also did not meet with success, but on their return the army invaded Orissa and sacked the town of Puri.

His conquest of Nagarkot in 1361 is interesting, because he obtained a number of Sanskrit books which were translated by his order into the Persian language.

His campaigns in Sindh (1362-64) showed lack of military skill, for although he started with a large army he was forced to retreat. Only after the army had been greatly re-inforced was he able to secure the submission of the ruler of Thatta.

The only other military exploits of Firoz were the harassment of Katehar (Rohilkhand) and the forcible realisation of revenue in Etawah, where the Hindu chiefs had refused payment. For five successive years (1377-82) the district of Katehar was punished by the royal troops led by the Sultan in person.

The administration of Sultan Firoz was inspired by three aims—reverence for religious injunctions, necessity to placate the nobles, and desire to better the condition of the people.

Religious considerations influenced his dealings with the Hindus and non-Sunni Muslim sects. They also influenced his scheme of taxation, the administration of justice and poor relief, and the patronage of learning. He imposed the poll-tax on Brahmans and persecuted the Shiahs and others. He abolished numerous taxes in order to levy only those sanctioned

by religion. He dispensed strict justice and forbade the use of torture in criminal cases. He made arrangements to give employment to the poor and aids in the marriage of girls.

The Sultan had ascended the throne with the help of the military commanders and noblemen. He regarded it as his duty to keep them pleased. The system of assigning lands to troopers and officers which Alauddin had deprecated, was greatly extended in his reign. The salaries of officers and soldiers were fixed on a very liberal scale, and payment was not made from the treasury, but by assignments of land revenues, equal in amount to the salary. Thus the greater part of the empire was divided amongst assignment-holders (*jagirdars*).

To please them further the audit of the income and expenditure of the officers, which the revenue ministry used to hold at the capital every year, was relaxed; and other favours were shown to them. The effect of these measures was that the jagirdars tended to become hereditary owners of fiefs, and the authority of the state was seriously limited. This affected the army too, for laxity of audit and inspection led to evil practices which reduced the strength of the troops.

It was partly to remove this that Firoz attempted to organise an army of slaves wholly dependent upon the Sultan and forming his bodyguard. The numbers, however, grew so large that the state could not bear the expense; and they had to be suppressed by his successors.

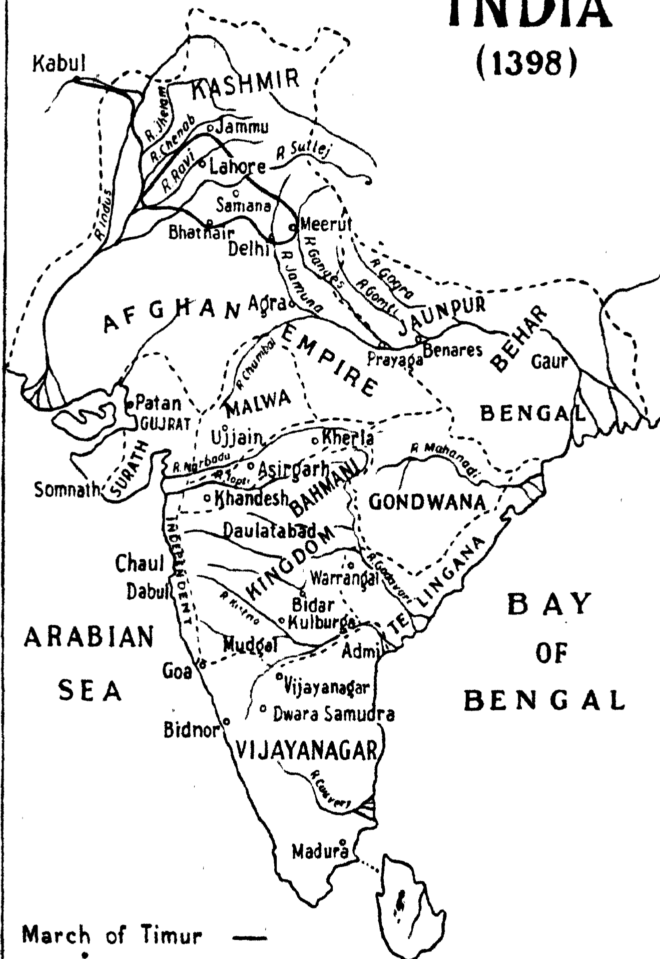
Firoz had a genuine regard for the peasantry. Their happiness largely depended upon the administration of land revenue. In the last reign the high demand of the state and drought had produced great disorder. The

collection of revenue was placed in the hands of farmers who did not care for the well-being of the cultivators, and were anxious only for their own profits. The central provinces were, therefore, depopulated and tillage had shrunk. Firoz changed all this. The governors and other officers and the Hindu chiefs continued to collect the revenue, but they were treated with consideration and remained friendly. In their turn they did not oppress the peasantry. The policy of Firoz was to encourage the peasant to improve his crops and to extend cultivation. His mildness in the matter of the collection of land-tax and the abolition of vexatious cesses had the desired effect. He actively helped in carrying out the policy by constructing irrigation works. He dug four canals from the Sutlaj and Jumna rivers which brought fertility to the lands through which they passed.

The Sultan had a passion for building edifices, laying out gardens and planning towns. His memory is kept alive by the towns of Jaunpur, Fatehabad, Hissar and Firuzabad, and the monuments at Delhi.

The Later Tughluqs, 1388-1413.—On the death of Firoz Shah, a civil war broke out between his son and the grandsons. After some fighting Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah occupied Delhi and ascended the throne. His reign lasted four years (1390-94). During this period rebellions broke out on all sides, and the royal power sank low.

He was succeeded by Mahmud Shah Tughluq who was a minor. He was the last king of the dynasty, and was weak and incompetent. The nobles paid no heed to the orders of the state, the Hindu chiefs threw off all obedience, and the governors of provinces established themselves as independent rulers.


INDIA
(1398)
Kabul
KASHMIR
R. Jhelam
R. Chenab
Jammu
R. Sutlej
R. Ravi
Lahore
R. Indus
Samana
Bhatnair
Meerut
Delhi
R. Ganges
R. Jamuna
R. Gogra
R. Gomti
AFGHAN
Agra
EMPIRE
JAUNPUR
BEHAR
Prayaga
Benares
Gaur
R. Chumbal
MALWA
Patan
GUJRAT
BENGAL
Ujjain
Kherla
R. Mahanadi
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
Asirgarh
Somnath
SURATH
Khandesh
BAHMANI
GONDWANA
Daulatabad
KINGDOM
INDEPENDENT
Chaul
Dabul
Warrangal
R. Godavari
TELINGANA
Bidar
R. Kistna
Kulburga
ARABIAN
SEA
Mudgal
Admi
BAY
OF
BENGAL
Goa
Vijayanagar
Dwara Samudra
Bidnor
VIJAYANAGAR
R. Cauvery
Madura
March of Timur

The disintegration of the empire gave opportunity to Timur, the Amir of Central Asia, to invade India. He started on his expedition from his capital Samarqand in the summer of 1398, and marched through Afghanistan to the Indus, after the rains. He crossed the Indus without opposition and overran the Punjab. In midwinter he arrived at the outskirts of Delhi. Mahmud, who offered battle on the plain outside the city, was defeated, and his army fled in wild disorder. He took refuge in Gujarat. Timur entered Delhi which was pillaged and sacked by his troops. After plundering and slaughtering the inhabitants of Delhi, Timur returned to his country by way of Meerut, Hardwar, Jammu and Bannu.

The shock of the invasion threw the country into complete anarchy, and the Tughluq empire, which was already on the decline, dissolved. Mahmud, who had fled to Gujarat, now returned to the capital, but he was merely a puppet in the hands of the nobles. After a nominal reign of twenty years, he died in 1413. With his death the rule of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi came to an end.

Causes of the Downfall of the Tughluq Empire.—The Delhi Sultanate of the Middle Age was established by the conquests of adventurous princes. The size of the empire was vast and the means of communication and transport within it, defective. It was, therefore, necessary to divide the empire into provinces which were governed by officers who exercised almost the same authority as the king himself. In such circumstances, the condition for the maintenance of the solidarity of the empire was that the governors wielding such great powers should be

thoroughly loyal to the central authority and zealous in their devotion to the interests of the state; also that the king should be vigilant in keeping watch over the actions of his commanders, and capable and prompt in taking steps to stamp out any signs of disobedience. Whenever, therefore, the sceptre fell into weak hands or the governors became rebellious, the decline of the state set in.

The only considerations which kept the great officers loyal to the state were those of personal and family relationship. The bonds of race, religion and territory were weak, and the fact that officers belonged to the same race, or came from the same country or followed the same religion, as the king, did not deter them from rebelling against their lord if they felt aggrieved or found an opportunity to rebel.

The empire was maintained by the special corps of officers which the king organised and which was personally loyal to him. Such were the Shamsi and Balbani officers of the early kings.

The Khalji Kings destroyed the power of these Turkish officers and raised Khalji officers to power. The Tughluqs, in their turn, disbanded the Khalji officers. Muhammad tried to enlist foreigners in their place, but they proved faithless and brought disaster to the kingdom. Firoz depended upon the converts. His most trusted lieutenants were Khan Jahan Maqbool and his son, who were Hindus from Telingana and who had accepted Islam. He also sought to strengthen his authority by collecting an army of slaves. Neither the converts nor the slaves proved a bulwark of the empire, and the result of their general employment was that the state became weak at the centre.

A second cause of the decline of the Tughluq empire was that India suffered in the reign of Muhammad from natural misfortunes and the experiments of the Sultan. A number of provinces broke away from the empire. Its resources were diminished, and Firoz was unable to re-assert his power over the lost territories. His weak and worthless successors, whose reigns were distracted by civil wars, gave further impetus to the tendencies of disintegration.

In the third place, the measures of Firoz directly led to the weakening of the state. The extension of the Jagir system reduced the revenues of the kingdom, diminished the control of the state over the nobility, and stimulated their desire for autonomy. The policy of securing conversions by means of material rewards encouraged the advancement of selfish men who cared little for the interests of the state. The growth of the slave organisation led to the exhaustion of the royal resources and to tumults in the capital.

Lastly, it must be remembered that India was a vast country inhabited by peoples among whom there was little social solidarity, and it was impossible to expect a unified state built upon foundations which were so diverse. In the Middle Age the peoples were gradually evolving provincial societies. They were not yet conscious of their territorial unity, but they possessed provincial languages which were becoming the media of expression of religious and literary sentiments. Sanskrit might be the language of the learned and Persian the language of the court, but the languages of the people were Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, etc. The result of this movement was that the unifying tendency remained weak and provincialism flourished.

The Tughluq empire, distracted by internal dissensions, lost its coherence as a result of the invasion of Timur, and it was not till after nearly a century and a half that a descendant of Timur started again the process of the unification of India. The history of these years is a narrative of the doings of the dynasties which established themselves in the provinces on the ruins of the Tughluq empire.

(e). The Provincial Kingdoms, 1413—1526

The Kingdom of Delhi

The Sayyids, 1413-51.—On the extinction of the Tughluq dynasty, Khizr Khan, who was the governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion and who had been appointed by him as governor of Lahore, occupied Delhi. His authority did not extend much beyond the environs of Delhi, and he spent most of his time in fighting with his neighbours. His son, Mubarak Shah, ruled from 1421 to 1434, when he was assassinated at the instigation of his Wazir. Prince Muhammad, a grandson of Khizr Khan, was then raised to the throne, but his authority was even more circumscribed than that of his predecessors, for many of his noblemen had shaken off their allegiance. After his death, Bahlol Lodi, the governor of Lahore, seized Delhi in 1451 from his incompetent son, and brought to an end the rule of the Sayyid dynasty in Delhi.

The Lodis, 1451-1526.—Bahlol Lodi was a strong and vigorous ruler who succeeded in re-asserting the power of Delhi over the Jagirdars and Rajas of the Doab and Mewat. His advance was resisted by the Sharqi king of Jaunpur, and Bahlol waged many wars

against him, till in 1478 he succeeded in capturing Jaunpur and in driving the Sharqi king into exile.

On his death his son, Sikandar, ascended the throne in 1489. He was a capable, strong but bigoted king. He had to be constantly on the march to put down the rebellions of the feudatory Afghan noblemen, who were rough and haughty. It was a difficult task to keep them under subjection. The Hindu chiefs of Etawah, Gwalior, and Chanderi also gave a lot of trouble, and much of the Sultan's time was occupied in campaigns against them. By the conquest of Jaunpur the boundary of the Delhi kingdom touched Bengal, and Sikandar made a treaty with the king of Bengal to secure his eastern frontier.

Sikandar founded the city of Agra and made it his capital. He died in 1517 and his son, Ibrahim Lodi, succeeded him. His uncle, Jalal Khan, challenged his accession, and the quarrel between the nephew and uncle distracted the kingdom. Ibrahim had a suspicious disposition and superior manners, which antagonised the Afghan nobles. The governors of Bihar, Ghazipur and the Punjab turned against him and raised the standard of revolt. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore, invited Babur, the king of Kabul, to invade India. In 1524 Babur crossed the Indus and advanced upon Lahore, in order to overthrow Ibrahim and place his uncle, Jalal Khan, on the throne. But affairs in Afghanistan did not allow him to proceed further, and he returned to Kabul. In 1525 he came back to Lahore, forced Daulat Khan to submission, and marched upon Delhi. Ibrahim advanced to Panipat to meet the invader but suffered a complete defeat and was killed in battle (1526). The rule of the

Lodi dynasty came to an end, and a new era began in the history of India.

The Provincial Kingdoms.—Although after the decline of the Tughluqs the unity of the Delhi empire was lost, the establishment of provincial kingdoms saved the greater part of India from becoming a prey to anarchy. These kingdoms not only maintained order in the different provinces of India, but they became centres of enlightenment and culture, and they encouraged the growth of the provincial unity which found its expression in art, language and literature.

Among these kingdoms the important ones in the north were Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Kashmir. Besides these, the Rajput princes had re-asserted their power and established principalities in the Himalayan region, Rajputana and Central India. In the Deccan, the Bahmani kingdom, and in the south, the kingdom of Vijayanagar flourished during this period.

Bengal.—During the last years of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign one of the Muslim officers, Malik Ilyas, made himself the independent chief of Bengal and transferred his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua. Firoz Tughluq attempted to bring him under subjection, but without success.

During the reign of his successors the authority was disputed by the Rajas of Dinajpur. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1442-60) rebuilt the old capital of Gaur. His successors had tumultuous reigns, and a new dynasty was founded by Alauddin Husain Shah in 1493. He proved to be the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal.

Husain Shah established order in the kingdom, and led a successful expedition into Assam, although he failed to subjugate it permanently. His son, Nusrat

Shah, conquered Tirhut. In his time Babur invaded India and the Portuguese appeared in Bengal. He was murdered in 1533.

Five years later Sher Shah conquered Bengal, and the Afghans held it till it was conquered by Akbar.

The Muslim kings of Bengal were enlightened rulers. They were great patrons of art and literature, and it was through their encouragement that the Bengali language, which had been neglected under the Hindu kings, was elevated to a literary status. Under their patronage many great Sanskrit works were rendered into Bengali. Nusrat Shah ordered the translation of the *Mahabharat*. The *Ramayana* was translated by the poet Krittivasa, probably at the instance of a Muslim ruler. Husain Shah employed Maladhar Vasu to translate the *Bhagvata*, and Vidyapati dedicated some of his poems to Nusrat Shah. The Bengal kings were great builders too. Their most famous monuments are the mosques at Pandua and at Gaur.

The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur.—Malik Sarwar founded the kingdom of Jaunpur in 1394. He established his authority over Oudh, over the Gangetic Doab as far west as Koil, and in the east over Tirhut and Bihar. On his death in 1399, Mubarak Shah ascended the throne. During his reign the Delhi Sultans made unsuccessful attempts to subjugate Jaunpur. His son, Ibrahim, was a great king. He annexed Sambhal, invaded Bengal and went to war with the king of Malwa for the annexation of Kalpi. His son, Mahmud, continued the war against Malwa, and began hostilities against the Lodis without much result. Mahmud's son, Muhammad, was a violent and capricious tyrant, and his own kinsmen and nobles

rose against him and slew him. They raised his brother, Husain, to the throne.

Husain led a plundering expedition into Orissa, and after returning from there attacked Gwalior, and then undertook the conquest of Delhi. In the war which followed with Bahlol, fortune turned against Husain. He suffered defeat, and his capital was occupied by the Lodi king in 1476. Husain fled into Bihar and died in exile. The kingdom of Jaunpur was annexed to Delhi.

Although the Sharqi kingdom lasted only about eighty years, Jaunpur attained a high degree of prosperity during the period. The kings erected a number of buildings, of which the mosques only have remained. Their architecture shows a pleasing combination of strength and refinement, and of the Hindu and Muslim ideas of art. Vidyapati has bestowed high praise on the prosperity and wealth of the city, which, for its culture, earned the title of the Shiraz of the east.

Malwa.—After Timur's invasion Malwa became independent under Dilawar Khan. In 1405 his son, Hushang, ascended the throne. He waged many wars against the kingdom of Gujarat. Fortune, however, did not always favour him and he gained no advantage in the wars. He led an expedition into Orissa in the disguise of a merchant and brought a number of elephants. He came into conflict with the kings of Delhi, Jaunpur and the Deccan, but he maintained his dominion and power intact.

His minister, Mahmud, seized the throne in 1436 and founded a dynasty which ruled for nearly a century. Mahmud was a great warrior and a capable and ambitious king. He aimed at the conquest of Delhi, Gujarat, Chitor and the Deccan. He gained some

successes over Rana Kumbha and captured some Rajput fortresses, but he was unable to capture Chitor. His invasion of the Deccan proved disastrous, and his intervention in the affairs of Gujarat, Jaunpur and Delhi brought him no profit. Yet he acquired a high reputation, and his fame spread to distant lands. During his reign the Muslims and Hindus were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse. His successors ruled over Malwa in peace. In 1510 Mahmud II made himself king with the help of Medini Rai, a Rajput chief. But the Rajput minister domineered over his master, and treated the Muslim officers with contempt. In order to get rid of him Mahmud asked the help of the king of Gujarat, who responded to the appeal, captured Mandu, the capital, and massacred the Rajputs. Medini Rai, however, sought the help of Rana Sangram Singh of Chitor. The forces of Mahmud were defeated, and Mahmud himself became a prisoner. Although he was released, his authority was greatly reduced. Then Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, declared war on him, annexed his territory in 1531, and put an end to the independent kingdom of Malwa.

The kings of Malwa adorned the two capitals of Dhar and Mandu with splendid buildings, the most noteworthy being the Jami Masjid, Hindola Mahal, Jahaz Mahal and the tomb of Hushang.

Gujarat.—Gujarat attained its independence when Muzaffar Shah, the governor, withdrew his allegiance in 1401, but the real founder of the kingdom was Ahmad Shah whose reign lasted for thirty years (1411-41). He was a successful ruler, who established his sway over the whole of Gujarat and defeated his neighbours—the

Sultans of Malwa and the chiefs of Rajputana. He built the city of Ahmedabad.

His grandson, Sultan Mahmud Begara, was the most eminent king of Gujarat. He reigned from 1458 to 1511. He waged wars against the Ranas of Kathiawar and the Rajput chiefs. He interfered in the affairs of Malwa, Khandesh, Sindh, and the Deccan. Towards the close of his reign he came into conflict with the Portuguese who had established themselves on the western coast of India. He allied himself with the Sultan of Turkey, and the allied forces defeated the Portuguese. Later the Portuguese won a naval victory over the Muslim fleet and became masters of the Arabian Sea. Mahmud died after a glorious reign of fifty-two years

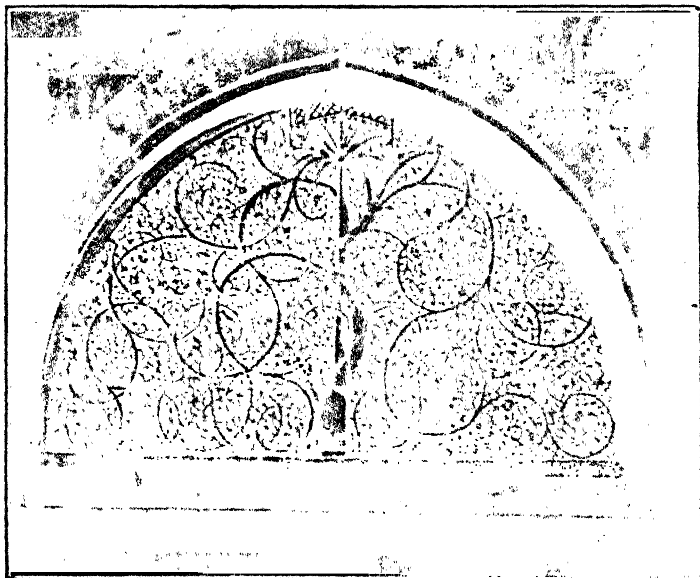
On his death Muzaffar Shah II succeeded to the throne, and he helped Mahmud of Malwa to regain his authority from the Rajputs under Medini Rai.

The last king of Gujarat was Bahadur Shah (1526-37). He conquered Malwa in 1531, captured Chitor in 1533, and repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese on Diu. Gujarat was subjected to the invasion of Humayun in 1535, and two years later Bahadur Shah was drowned off Diu. The kingdom fell into a state of anarchy and was conquered by Akbar in 1572.

Gujarat was the home of a beautiful style of architecture in which the Hindu and the Muslim elements were exquisitely blended. The kings and noblemen erected wonderful mosques, stepped wells, tombs and palaces. These were adorned with stone lattices and other ornaments of the most delicate workmanship. Gujarat, also, acquired a great reputation for the crafts of weaving with silk, cotton and gold thread.

The Hindu Principalities of the North.—The

conquest of India by the Turkish Sultans extinguished the leading principalities of the north. But petty Rajput chiefs, Rais and Rajas, who paid tribute to the Sultans of Delhi, continued to exist in large numbers throughout the period. Whenever the weakness of the rulers gave them an opportunity they withheld the tribute and



WINDOW OF SIDI SAYYID'S MOSQUE, AHMEDABAD.

asserted their independence. Such were the chiefs of Mewat, the Doab, Katehar (Rohilkhand), etc.

Besides these petty chiefs there were two belts of territory where independent princes ruled. The first was the border region of the northern mountains, *i.e.*, the region consisting of the sub-Himalayan hill states like Kangra, Almora, Nepal and Bhutan. Kashmir, which

belongs to this region, had come under Muslim rule about the middle of the fourteenth century, but the other states maintained their independence throughout the Middle Age.

The second region was the dividing territory of the central uplands, stretching from the Aravallis on the west to Orissa in the east. The Rajput states situated in this region were never completely subdued, and they always offered resistance to the Sultans of Delhi. Among these states the important ones were the principalities of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Gondwana.

The Sisodias of Mewar.—The Sisodias of Mewar were a younger branch of the Guhilots who ruled over Mewar for over six centuries. In 1303, when Alauddin Khalji conquered Chitor, the senior branch of the Guhilots died out. In 1326 Hammir, who belonged to the younger branch and was the chief of the Sisodias, re-established the independence of Mewar which his successors maintained. With Mokal, the fourth ruler of Mewar, began the expansion of the Sisodia power. His successor, Kumbha (1433-68), was a forceful ruler. He captured many forts and brought a number of Rajput chiefs under his sway. He waged wars against the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. In 1437 he defeated Mahmud of Malwa at Sarangpur, took him prisoner and laid siege to the capital, Mandu. Later he generously released Mahmud, who tried to wipe out his disgrace by leading a number of expeditions into Mewar, but without success. In 1457 the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat made a joint attack upon Mewar, which was repulsed.

Kumbha was an artist and poet. He wrote books on music and architecture and composed a number of dramas. He was also a great builder. He erected the famous Tower of Victory at Chitor to commemorate his

victory over Mahmud. He was assassinated by his son, Udaya Sinha, in 1468. But Udaya's act horrified the nobles, and they made his younger brother, Rayamal, king. Rayamal's sons quarrelled among themselves for the



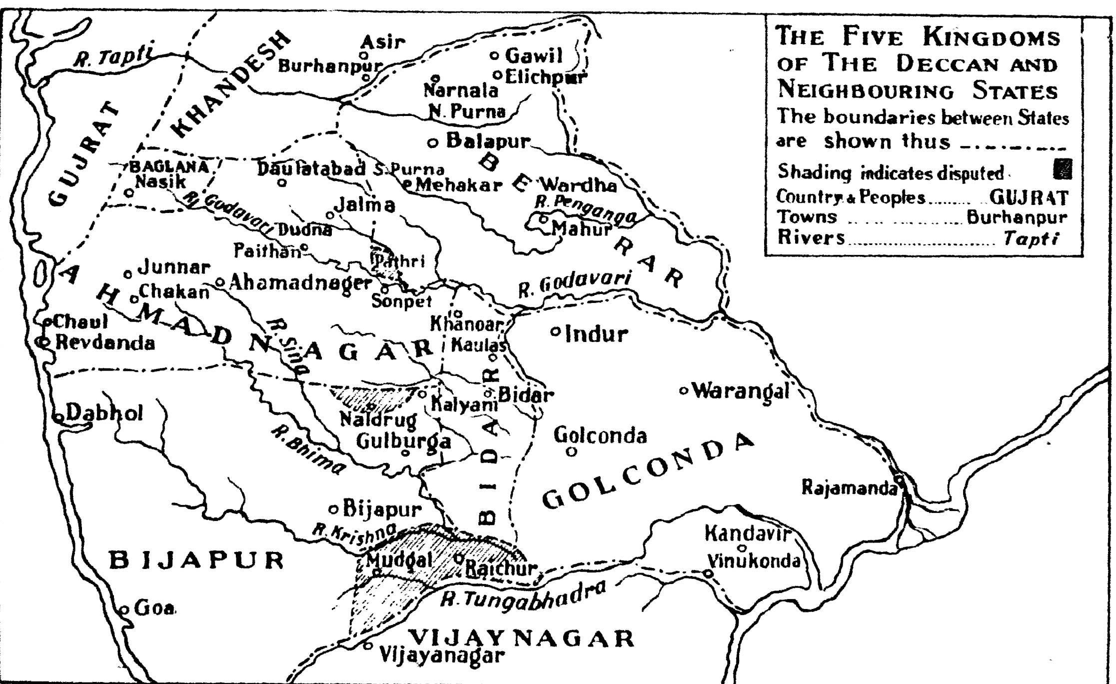
TOWER OF VICTORY, CHITOR.

succession. Sangram Singh, known as Rana Sanga, ultimately came to the throne in 1509.

Sanga was the greatest ruler of his line. He was unexcelled as a warrior. He was constantly fighting

against his neighbours, the Lodis of Delhi, and the kings of Malwa and of Gujarat. He not only defeated the armies of the king of Gujarat, but besieged Ahmadnagar and plundered other towns. He gave shelter to Bahadur Shah, son of Muzaffar, who came to him to escape from the hostility of his brother, and remained in Chitor till 1526. The encroachment of Sanga on the territories of the Lodis led to a war. But Sanga defeated the Lodi king at Khatoli in 1517, and repulsed other attacks. In 1519 Sanga successfully helped Medini Rai of Malwa against his king. By 1526 Sanga had become the most powerful ruler of Northern India, for the whole of Rajputana acknowledged his supremacy. A large part of the territories of Malwa had been annexed, and the kings of Gujarat and Delhi were afraid of him. When Babur overthrew Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, he found that his chief rival was Sanga. He, therefore, collected all his forces to crush him. Rana Sanga, too, made great preparations for the fight. Not only did Rajput forces join him, but the Afghan officers led by Mahmud, brother of Ibrahim, came to fight under his banner. In 1527 the battle of Khanwa took place and the combined army of the Afghans and the Rajputs suffered a heavy defeat. Next year, while preparing to avenge the defeat, Sanga was poisoned by the nobles who did not desire the prolongation of the conflict. With his death passed away the greatness of Mewar.

The Kingdoms of the Deccan.—The Bahmani kingdom.—Muhammad bin Tughluq's severity had led to the revolt of the amirs of the Deccan under the leadership of Hasan. The rebels defeated the royal forces and declared the independence of the Deccan in 1347. They raised Hasan to the throne; he assumed the title


THE FIVE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND NEIGHBOURING STATES
The boundaries between States are shown thus
Shading indicates disputed
Country & Peoples .... GUJRAT
Towns .... Burhanpur
Rivers .... Tapti
GUJRAT
KHANDESH
AHMADNAGAR
BERAR
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
BIJAPUR
VIJAYNAGAR
BAGLANA
R. Tapti
Asir
Burhanpur
Gawil
Elichpur
Narnala
N. Purna
Balapur
Daulatabad
S. Purna
Mehakar
Wardha
R. Penganga
Mahur
Nasik
R. Godavari
Dudna
Jalma
Paithan
Pathri
Junnar
Chakan
Ahamadnager
Sonpet
R. Godavari
Chaul
Revdanda
R. Sina
Khanoar
Kaulas
Indur
Warangal
Kalyani
Bidar
Dabhol
Naldrug
Gulburga
Golconda
R. Bhima
Rajamanda
Bijapur
R. Krishna
Kandavir
Vinukonda
Mudgal
Raichur
R. Tungabhadra
Goa
Vijayanagar

of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, and made Gulbarga his capital.

The kingdom thus founded lasted from 1347 to 1526. For nearly a century and a quarter (1347-1482) it continued to flourish, till it extended from sea to sea. Its rulers enjoyed success against their enemies, among whom the most formidable were the kings of Vijayanagar. During the next half century (1482-1526) power fell into the hands of the generals. The kingdom was weakened by the quarrels of the nobility, and was at last broken up into five Sultanates.

Alauddin Hasan, the founder of the kingdom, was also the organiser of the administration. He divided the kingdom into four provinces, appointed governors and laid down their duties.

Among his successors, Muhammad Shah I (1358-73), and Firoz (1397-1422) were noteworthy rulers. Muhammad and Firoz waged fierce wars against the Rajas of Vijayanagar. In these wars the bone of contention was the Raichur Doab, that is, the land between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. The Rajas of Vijayanagar utilised every opportunity to cross the Tungabhadra and seize the forts in the Doab, and on these occasions the Bahmani kings led out their forces against them, defeated them in battle and laid siege to Vijayanagar.

The Rajas of Warangal, who were the allies of the Rajas of Vijayanagar, were usually involved in these wars, in which they lost much of their western territories. Ahmad Shah (1422-35), who succeeded Firoz, carried on the fight against Vijayanagar and subjugated the kingdom of Warangal. He changed the capital to Bidar. During the reign of his son, Alauddin, quarrels

broke out between the two groups of his nobility, the Deccanis and the Foreigners. The king of Malwa, Mahmud, invaded the Deccan in 1461 and advanced upon Bidar, but the support of the ruler of Gujarat forced Mahmud to withdraw. During the minority of the next ruler, Mahmud Shah III (1464-82), the affairs of the state were managed by the Queen-mother and Mahmud Gawan, the minister.

Mahmud Gawan was a great statesman. He reformed the administration, and centralised authority over the army in the hands of the king. But the Deccani nobles were jealous of him and they succeeded in alienating the king from him. The old and innocent minister was executed, and his death removed the only person who could maintain order and unity in the kingdom.

The death of Mahmud Shah in 1482 was followed by a period of disorder in which the king and his ministers neglected the affairs of government, and allowed the provincial governors and generals to assume independence. Thus the Bahmani kingdom was divided into five principalities—the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahi of Berar. the Barid Shahi of Bidar and the Qutub Shahi of Golkonda.

Of these five principalities, that of Berar was annexed by the Nizam Shahis in 1575, and that of Bidar came to an end in 1609. Ahmadnagar was absorbed in the Mughal empire during the reign of Shahjahan, and Golkonda and Bijapur were extinguished by Aurangzeb in 1687.

The Bahmani kings were generous patrons of art and science. Their courts attracted scholars, poets, artists, and soldiers from Persia and other lands. They



OUTLINE DRAWING OF PAINTING OF POLO AND OTHER FIGURES, KUMATGI (DIST. BIJAPUR).

built strong fortresses, like that of Daulatabad, which are monuments of high military engineering. Their mosques and tombs are impressive and their colleges imposing in appearance. The successors of the Bahmanis, the princes of Bijapur and Golkonda, also erected magnificent buildings. Among them the most notable is the Gol Gumbaz, or the great tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah.

During the period of the Bahmani rule a number of poets flourished in Maharashtra who wrote devotional poems in Marathi; Jnaneshwar, the writer of a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita*, and Namdeva and Ekanath the hymn-makers are famous among them. Their rule also gave encouragement to the rise of a rich literature in Deccani Hindi (or Urdu). The Muslim saints wrote religious books in prose and poetry for the common people, and the kings and poets composed poems on the Persian model.

Vijayanagar.—When the Deccan rose in revolt against Muhammad Tughluq, the Hindu princes of the south made use of the opportunity to assert their independence and establish their own kingdom. Harihar, the chief of Anagundi (a fort on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra), and his brother Bukka founded the city of Vijayanagar in 1336 and made it the capital of the new kingdom. Most of the southern states acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, and its sway extended over the whole of the peninsula from sea to sea, south of the Tungabhadra.

The kings of Vijayanagar, however, coveted the Doab of Raichur and waged incessant wars with the Bahmanis for the possession of it. Their frequent attempts met with stout opposition and were usually

unsuccessful. The first line of the kings of Vijayanagar ruled till 1487. Among them Devaraya II (1421-48) was the most noted ruler. He organised a large force of Muslim archers to strengthen his army, and showed special favours to them. During his reign the kingdom attained the height of prosperity. Conti, the Italian traveller, and Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, visited his court, and they have left glowing accounts of the wealth and splendour of Vijayanagar.

Devaraya's death was followed by confusion, and a new dynasty assumed power in 1505. Krishna Devaraya, who ascended the throne in 1509, was the greatest ruler of the new dynasty. During his reign the Portuguese took possession of Goa. He fixed the river Krishna as the boundary between his kingdom and that of Orissa. He seized the Raichur Doab as the Bahmani principalities were then quarrelling among themselves. He died in 1530.

After his death factions broke out in the realm. The Muslim Sultans of the Deccan were at first divided among themselves, and were unable to intervene in the affairs of Vijayanagar, but during the reign of the last king Sadashiva Raya, the regent Rama Raya seized the throne. He led expeditions against the Bahmani Sultans and raided the territories of even his allies among them. His arrogant and insulting behaviour united the Sultans against him, and they made a joint attack upon him. A great battle was fought at Raksas-Tangadi—known as the battle of Talikota—where Rama Raya was defeated and killed (1565).

The empire of Vijayanagar then ceased to exist. But Rama Raya's brother Tirumal, who escaped from the battle, established a new dynasty which continued to rule

in the south for many years.

The Rajas of Vijayanagar patronised Sanskrit learning. Sayana, the great Vedic commentator, and his learned brother Madhava, the philosopher, were ministers at their court. Telugu poets also received great encouragement from them. They built immense irrigation and water supply works, palaces and temples, and they employed many fine sculptors and painters.

(f). State of Society and Civilisation, 1200—1526

Society.—The Turks who conquered India were Mussalmans by religion, but they differed in race from the Arabs, who were the first Muslims to settle in India. After the conquest of India, many inhabitants of Persia, Central Asia and other western countries, who professed Islam, came and settled in India. Many Hindus also adopted the new faith. The Muslims did not quite adopt the caste system of the Hindus, but they became divided into tribes and clans, and the sentiment of *biradari* (communal brotherhood) grew up among them, so that marriages outside the *biradari* were looked upon with disfavour. Many Indian customs and practices which were not expressly prohibited by Islam were adopted, for example, the veneration of graves and tombs, the ceremonies of marriage and mourning and festivals, etc. Society was much affected by the vices of drinking and gambling.

Religion.—The basis of Islam is the Holy Book (the *Quran*), which is open to everyone to read. No priest is required to guide the religious duties of the Muslim or to explain to him the doctrines of religion. But from early times there were pious men in Muslim countries who led specially devoted lives. Among them grew up

ideas and practices of an ascetic way of living. Their aim was the realisation of God, and their method was the renunciation of the world and its pleasures. They were known as Sufis. They resembled the Hindu and Buddhist monks. In the thirteenth century a large number of these mystics came to India. Some of them were poets like Jalaluddin Rumi, Fariduddin Attar and Amir Khusrau. Others were heads of orders or preachers, like Abdul Qadir Jilani, Muinuddin Chishti, and Nizammuddin Auliya. They spread the doctrines of love of God and service of man, and converted many people to Islam. They organised orders and trained disciples in the inner discipline of the spirit.

The Muslim learned men and jurists formed a class by themselves. They provided judges for the law courts, and from among them came historians and theologians. They were rigid in their religious dogmas and intolerant towards other religions. Their occupation with books made them unpractical and narrow.

Government and Administration.—The position of the king in the thirteenth century was that of a leader among chiefs of almost equal power. The Sultan was elected from the nobles and did not hold hereditary authority. There was no law of succession. The Khaljis and Tughluqs developed the personal power of the king, and then the choice of the Sultan became restricted to the members of the royal family.

The king transacted business through two assemblies: (1) The Durbar-i-Khas, and (2) the Durbar-i-Am. The first was the administrative or consultative council, where the highest officers met and advised the king. The second was the court where the king, as the highest judicial and executive authority, dispensed justice,

distributed rewards and honours, inspected armies and received ambassadors in the presence of his courtiers and officers.

The king had four principal imperial officers, the ministers of revenue, of war, of correspondence, and of markets. Besides, he also appointed a regent or *naib-i-mulk*, whose position was higher than that of the ministers. He maintained, in addition, a number of departments, *e.g.*, of justice presided over by a *Qazi*, of police, of agriculture, and a number of royal workshops.

The country was divided into provinces, which were placed under governors whose duties were the maintenance of peace and order, and the collection of revenue. The number of provinces varied in this period, from twenty to twenty-five.

The army consisted of the royal bodyguard, the troops of the capital, the troops of the provinces maintained by the assignment-holders, and the contingents of the Hindu chiefs. The first two formed the standing army of the state.

The officers were divided into three classes, the Khans, the Maliks and the Amirs, who were commanders of fixed numbers of troops. Below them were leaders of ten or hundred troopers. The commanders performed both civil and military functions, and were paid by means of assignments of the revenues of villages or estates.

It was a custom in these times that every king usually dismissed the officers of his predecessor, and appointed his own officers to whom he gave high rank. Iltutmish had a corps of forty officers, who held the highest rank. Balban dismissed them and appointed his own officers. The Khaljis got rid of the Balbani and Turki officers and replaced them by Khaljis,

and lastly, the Tughluqs substituted for them officers drawn from among foreigners, low class Muslims and converts. Of course, the object was to have officials who would be loyal to the king, but the frequent changes created a spirit of personal attachment which proved fatal to the stability of the state.

The People.—The Hindus, who formed the bulk of the subjects of the Sultans of Delhi, were divided into two classes: (1) the chiefs or Rajas, Rais and headmen of villages or Muqaddams and Chaudhris; and (2) the artisans, traders, and cultivators. The relations between the state and the first class were usually strained. The chiefs never willingly paid the land-tax and never missed any opportunity to set authority at naught. In the early days their numbers were so large that they predominated the Turkish empire. The Sultans had to lead frequent expeditions to bring them to order, to realise revenue and to punish them.

The measures of Alauddin and others were directed against them. Their numbers were gradually reduced by the transfer of their estates to the Muslim chiefs, yet they remained a powerful class throughout the period.

The cultivators were regarded as the real subjects or Raiyats. It was their duty to plough the lands and raise crops for the maintenance of their chiefs and the state. In return they received protection of life and property. Most of the kings were solicitous of their welfare, but the intermediaries between the state and the subjects were strong, and tended to oppress the people.

Towards their Hindu subjects the Muslim rulers were bound, both by law and by considerations of policy, to maintain an attitude of toleration. From this very few kings made a departure. Forcible conversion or

demolition of temples was rare. Occasionally the poll tax was levied on Hindus, but its incidence was light. On the other hand, Hindus found employment under Muslim rulers, sometimes in the highest posts. Masud the Ghaznavide appointed Tilak to suppress Niyaltigin's rebellion. Alauddin conferred the title of Rai Rayan on Ramdeva Yadava and gave him the fief of Navasari. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq set Raja Kameswar to rule over Mithila, and Medini Rai became the regent of Mahmud II of Malwa. The Muslim rulers were supported by the allegiance and homage of the Hindu chiefs and landholders, to whom they had given fiefs. In fact one of the pretexts of Timur's invasion of India was the toleration of Hinduism. The subordinate posts in the administration were, of course, mainly in the hands of Hindus.

The Muslim rulers were just towards their Hindu subjects, and "it was certainly possible for Hindus to obtain justice even against Muslims." They encouraged the arts and letters of the people. In Bengal the rise of Bengali literature owes much to their encouragement. The rise of Avadhi literature was due to the stimulus of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur, and the first great poet in the language was Malik Muhammad Jayasi. In Gujarat literature developed in the time of the Muslim rulers. Narsingh Mehta, the poet, lived in the fifteenth century. Yusuf Adil Shah made Marathi the court language. The principalities of Bijapur and Golkonda were centres of Urdu literature, and many Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi kings were good Urdu poets themselves.

Of the employment of Hindu artisans and craftsmen, the monuments of the kings are a shining proof. In working for their masters they created new styles of

architecture in which the strength and ornamentation of Hindu buildings was combined with the grace and simplicity of Muslim architecture.

That the Muslim rulers were great patrons of letters is well known. Great writers in Persian flourished throughout the period, among whom Amir Khusrau and Badr-i-Chach, the poets, and Minhajus Siraj and Ziauddin Barni, the historians, and Ainulmulk, the letter-writer, may be mentioned.

But the rulers were also interested in the sciences and arts of their Hindu subjects. Albiruni studied Hindu religion and philosophy, and wrote treatises on them in Arabic. Firoz Tughluq had Sanskrit works rendered into Persian, and Sikandar Lodi ordered the translation of a medical work from Sanskrit into Persian.

With the advent of the Muslims many arts and crafts and scientific processes came into India, *e.g.*, the making of paper, the use of certain acids, the working of new metals, and a branch of astronomy, called in Sanskrit *Tajik*.

The independent Hindu chiefs were treated by the Muslim kings as foreign states—sometimes at peace, more often at war with them. Now the wars of those times were waged with terrible barbarities. The parties did not spare their enemies—honour, life, property, religious buildings—nothing escaped devastation and desecration. If the Muslims killed the men, took captive the women, plundered and sacked the cities and burnt the temples of the Hindus, the Hindus did exactly the same when they triumphed over the Muslims. But there were no wars of religion between them. The Hindus did not fight for Hinduism, nor did the Muslim princes

fight for Islam. Both fought for dominion and power. The Hindu chiefs were at war against the other Hindu chiefs and against the Muslim Sultans, and so did the Muslim princes fight among themselves and against the Hindus. There was scarcely any war in which the Hindus did not form part of the army of the Muslim commanders, and Muslims were usually found fighting under the banner of the Hindus. The wars scarcely affected the poor peasants and artisans whose lot was the same whether the chief was Hindu or Muslim.

The Influence of Islam on the Hindus.—The Hindu social and religious systems had developed without much external influence till the Muslims appeared in India. In the Rajput period the growth of the caste system and of sectarian religions had been completed. In the south, where the Muslims first settled, changes began in the Hindu religious and social ideas. Many of these changes were due to the teachings of Sankara and the Saiva and Vaisnava saints. Ramanuja gave a definite direction to them, and the Bhakti movement found in his philosophy a reasoned basis. His disciples carried forward the movement to all parts of India. The religion of Bhakti, or love and devotion, which gradually spread among the Hindu masses of the south and the north, had its roots in the doctrines taught in the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. But its wide popularity in the middle ages was the result of Muslim influence. Some of the old features of Bhakti received a new emphasis from contact with Islam, and some were actually derived from the Muslim faith.

The important doctrines of Bhakti were the realisation of God through love and through grace, and not by means of external acts (*Karma*) like

pilgrimages, fasts, telling of beads, etc.; the devotion to the teacher (*guru*) who was regarded by the disciple as divine; the condemnation of caste differences, of the pretensions of priests, and of the worship of idols. Bhakti taught the equality of all, whether rich or poor, noble or humble, and belief in one transcendent God by whatever name He may be called.

These doctrines were preached by saints who sprang up in all parts of India. They used the languages of the people to spread their doctrines. Kabir and Nanak preached in Hindi and Punjabi, Namdeva and Ekanath in Marathi, Mirabai in Rajasthani and Gujarati, Chaitanya in Bengali, Basava in Kanarese, Vemana in Telugu and the Siddhars in Tamil.

3. India under the Mughals, 1526-1818

A. The Mughal Ascendancy, 1526—1707

Babur was the conqueror of Northern India. His great successors extended the Mughal dominion till, in the reign of Aurangzeb, nearly the whole country was brought under one rule. The period between the victory of Babur over Ibrahim Lodi (1526), and the death of Aurangzeb (1707), is one of the most glorious in the history of India. Under the Mughal rulers the fame of India's wealth and splendour spread all over the world. India achieved a political unity and a common civilisation in which all her people participated. The administrative system was highly developed, and all parts of the country were brought under a uniform government. The people prospered, and arts and letters flourished.

During the reign of Aurangzeb decline set in, and in the eighteenth century the empire was rent by internal dissensions and the factions of the Marathas,

the Sikhs and the Jats. The north-western gates of India were left unguarded, and invaders plundered and harried the land and created anarchy and confusion. The European settlers on the coasts of India found an opportunity to interfere in Indian affairs and to acquire dominion. From among them the British ultimately succeeded in overcoming their rivals and in establishing their power over India.

(a). Babur and Humayun and the Foundation of Mughal Rule in India

Political Condition of India in the Sixteenth Century.—The break-up of the Tughluq empire in the fifteenth century had led to the establishment of a number of petty states in India.

Geographically they were distributed over three regions: (1) the northern plains; (2) the central uplands; and (3) the Deccan.

In the first region Sindh and Multan were under an independent prince; the Punjab was nominally a province of Delhi, but really its Afghan governors regarded themselves as equals of the Delhi kings. The kingdom of Delhi was held by the Lodis and included the whole of the Doab, and the Sharqi principality of Jaunpur and Bihar. Bengal was independent in the east; and in the west Rajputana was united under the supremacy of the Sisodias of Mewar.

In the second region Gujarat, Malwa, and Khandesh were under Muslim kings, and the eastern parts, including Gondwana and Orissa, were governed by Hindu princes.

In the third region the five Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan (now reduced to four) ruled the northern part, and the kings of Vijayanagar the southern.

Of these states, the kingdom of Delhi was the most important. Bahlol and Sikandar had made efforts to bring the northern plains under one dominion, but their monarchy was founded upon the good-will of the Afghan chiefs who were jealous of their status; and when Ibrahim offended their sense of self-respect by his haughty and suspicious conduct, the state was distracted by revolts. The powerful rivalry of the Sisodias reduced its strength still further.

Thus at the commencement of the sixteenth century Northern India was again divided, and its Hindu and Muslim princes were waging bitter feuds among themselves. The discontented Lodi governors and Rajput princes combined to invite a foreigner, Babur, the king of Kabul, to help them in overthrowing the unpopular Sultan of Delhi.

Babur's Early Career.—Babur was descended from Timur on the father's side and from Chingiz Khan through his mother. At the age of twelve he became the ruler of Farghana, a petty principality in Central Asia. His ambition was to become master of Samarqand which was the capital of the Timurid empire. In his early days he made attempts to realise his ambition but failed. He was driven out of Central Asia by the Uzbegs, and in 1504 he took possession of Kabul. He spent a number of years in consolidating his position and then turned his attention to India.

Conquest of India.—In 1524 Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, who desired to assume independent control of the Province, renounced his allegiance to Ibrahim and invited Babur to help him against the Sultan. Babur, who had long entertained the design of conquest, welcomed the opportunity. He

crossed the Indus and marched into Lahore. But Daulat Khan turned against him and Babur did not consider it opportune to advance further into India. He returned to Kabul and made preparations for the conquest of India. In the winter of 1525, he led his forces from Afghanistan for the invasion of the Punjab. He defeated and scattered Daulat Khan's troops and entered Lahore. He now resolved to march upon Delhi, and received encouraging letters from the nobles of Ibrahim's court and from Rana Sanga, promising him support. He encountered Ibrahim, who had advanced from Delhi to check the invader, on the fateful field of Panipat. Although Babur's army was much smaller in numbers, it had the advantages of a fine artillery and a skilful general, and it inflicted a decisive defeat upon the undisciplined and badly led forces of Ibrahim. The Sultan himself died on the field, and Delhi and Agra fell immediately into the hands of the victor. The petty chiefs made their submission, and the Doab passed into Babur's hands.

The first stage of the conquest was over. Babur had now to contend against two other formidable enemies—the Afghan princes in the east, and the Rajputs under Rana Sanga. He first marched against the Rana, who had secured the alliance of the Lodi officers. The combined Indian forces fought against Babur at Khanwa (1527) and were routed. Babur then turned to the Afghan chiefs in Bihar. He attacked them on the banks of the Ghaghra at its confluence with the Ganges and triumphed over them (1529). The victories gave him mastery over the wide territory from the Hindukush mountains to the borders of Bengal.

Within a year of the battle of Ghaghra Babur



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY CAMP.
From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting.*"
[*By permission of the Author and Messrs. Methuen and Co.*]

fell ill, and died in 1530. Although he laid the foundations of an empire, he had little time to rear the structure of its administration. Babur proclaimed himself, according to the Persian model, Padshah of India. He determined to make India his home, and laid out gardens and buildings for his pleasure and comfort.

Babur's Character.—He was a frank, open-hearted, cheerful man. He was patient in adversity and hopeful even after defeats. He possessed noble ambitions, boundless courage and a spirit which loved adventure. He was a skilful general and a mild, just and generous administrator. He was fond of arts and literature, and had a fine literary taste. He wrote both in prose and poetry. His memoirs are justly famous for their delightful style.

Humayun.—Humayun, who came to the throne at the age of twenty-three, had serious difficulties to meet. The conquests of his father were recent, and the government had not yet become stable, for the chiefs and the people had not accepted it with loyalty. It required statesmanship and strength on the part of the ruler to give it firmness and stability. Unfortunately, Humayun's position was weakened by internal difficulties. His brothers were ambitious and selfish, and desired to rule independently. They were jealous of him and hostile to him. Humayun on his accession gave them large provinces to govern. Kamran was specially favoured, for he obtained not only Kandahar and Kabul, but seized the Punjab also and set up as an independent king. There were other relations of the king who plotted against him. Then the dangers which threatened the kingdom from outside were formidable. The Lodis and other Afghan chiefs were not reconciled to the



AN ELEPHANT FIGHT AND OTHER CONTESTS AT BABUR'S DARBAR.

(Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)

loss of power, and were making efforts in the east to recover their kingdom. Bahadur Shah, King of Gujarat, was entertaining designs of acquiring the empire of Delhi.

Character of Humayun.—Unfortunately the king, although an accomplished scholar and a brave, genial and merciful ruler, did not possess the qualities necessary for overcoming the difficulties of the times. He was weak and vacillating, he loved ease and pleasure. He did not possess sternness or determination, nor had he the talents of a good general. It is not surprising that circumstances proved too strong for him and he was unable to retain the conquests of Babur.

Wars and Exile.—Humayun's enemies threatened his dominions from the east and the west. Bahadur Shah, who was master of both Gujarat and Malwa, had given shelter to his relations who were scheming for the throne. Humayun invaded Malwa and drove Bahadur out of Mandu, then he pursued him through Gujarat to Cambay, and captured Champaner. Here he gave himself up to pleasure. His inactivity and the disaffection of his brothers gave an opportunity to Bahadur to return. Humayun was forced out of Gujarat, and the conquests easily won were soon lost.

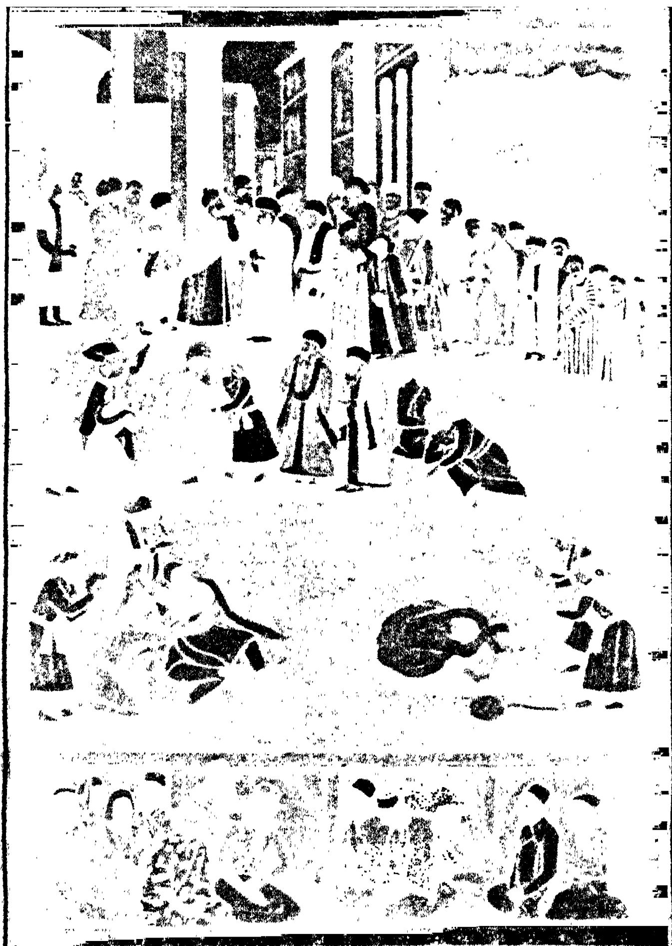
In the east Sher Khan Sur had first helped a Lodi prince to drive out the Mughals from Bihar and Oudh, but on his defeat he had submitted. But while Humayun was busy in Gujarat he rose in open revolt. Humayun proceeded against him and was allowed to pass through into Bengal. Sher Khan then took possession of the fortress of Chunar, cut Humayun's communications with the capital, and when he returned, defeated him at Chausa (1539). Next year Humayun again met Sher Khan opposite Kanauj and was again defeated. Delhi

and Agra fell into the hands of Sher Khan who assumed the title of king. Humayun fled towards Rajputana and Sindh. During his exile Akbar was born at Amarkot in 1542. Humayun could not stay here, and turned to Kandahar where his brother was governor. But the hostility of his brother obliged him to seek refuge with the Shah of Persia.

Humayun's Return.—The Shah of Persia gave him assistance to recover his lost dominion. He captured Kandahar in 1545, and then, after a long struggle with Kamran, occupied Kabul in 1550. With the surrender of Kamran three years later, Humayun became undisputed master of Afghanistan, and in 1554 he resolved upon the reconquest of India. Muhammad Shah Adil Sur, and his minister Hemu, were then governing India. But there were many competitors for the throne among the Afghans, and their quarrels had thrown the country into civil war and confusion. The chances of Humayun were bright. He invaded India in 1555, defeated the Afghans and reoccupied Delhi and Agra. The conquest was, however, hardly complete before he died from the injuries received in falling down the stairs of his house.

(b). Sher Shah and the Sur Dynasty, 1540—1555

Sher Khan was the son of a petty Afghan Jagirdar of the Shahabad district in Behar. He early showed signs of administrative capacity, for when his father appointed him his deputy, he introduced important reforms in the land revenue administration. When Babur came to India, he entered the service of the Mughal emperor, who placed him in charge of Bihar. He utilised his position to make himself independent ruler of the province.



A DANCE OF DERVESHES.

[By permission of Captain Spencer Churchill and the Oxford University Press.]

Humayun attempted to bring him back to obedience, but his attempts failed, and he was driven out of India in 1540. Sher Shah then conquered Malwa, Sindh, Marwar, and Mewar, and subjugated the country of the Gakkhars in the north-western Punjab. While laying siege to Kalinjar he was killed by an explosion of gunpowder in 1545.

Sher Shah was a remarkable king. Although he ruled despotically, he ruled for the good of the people. He was tolerant towards his Hindu subjects, and he dealt severely with the Jagirdars, chiefs and officials, both Muslim and Hindu, who attempted to tyrannise over the peasants. He reorganised the civil administration. The country was divided into districts which consisted of a number of Parganas. Each Pargana had a military commander, a treasurer, a judicial officer and two accountants—one who wrote in Hindi and the other in Persian. He revived some of the regulations of Alauddin Khalji regarding the army and the system of land revenue administration. The whole land was surveyed and measured. Measurement was made the basis of the demand of the state, and the share of the state was fixed at one-fourth of the produce. But the peasants who desired to pay according to the method of sharing (*Batai*) of the produce were allowed to do so.

The army was divided into divisions, and the divisions were stationed under their commanders (Faujdars) at important places. Besides, a standing army was maintained under the direct command of the king. The Hindus held high positions in the army. For the detection and punishment of crime the villages were made responsible. The *muqaddams* were punished if thefts and robberies in their locality remained undetected.

The courts were presided over by *Qazis* and officers of justice (*Mir Adl*).

Sher Shah stimulated trade and travel by building roads. One road, 1,500 krosh long, ran from Rohtas on the Indus to Sonargaon near Dacca, a second led from Agra to Burhanpur (on the Tapti), a third from Agra to Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. Shady trees were planted along the roads and rest houses established. Equal provision was made for Hindus and Mussalmans in these houses.

The stimulus which roads gave to commerce was further strengthened by the abolition of vexatious tolls and customs. In adopting these measures, Sher Shah's object was the creation of a consolidated state, whose ruler governed the whole country uniformly and directly. Sher Shah died prematurely, but his aims and ideas bore fruit in the times of Akbar.

Sher Shah's Successors.—On the death of Sher Shah, his son, Islam Shah, was raised to the throne. His reign lasted eight years, and was disturbed by the intrigues of his brother and rebellions in the provinces. A disputed succession followed and then Muhammad Adil Shah assumed sovereignty in 1554. He was a worthless ruler and he left the conduct of affairs in the hands of Hemu. Revolts broke out all round, and while Adil Shah was engaged in suppressing them, Humayun, who had become master of Afghanistan, invaded India and occupied Delhi and Agra (1555). Adil Shah retired to Chunar, but Hemu marched towards the capital and drove out the Mughal commander. He then advanced to Panipat with a large army and met the Mughals under Akbar and Bairam Khan. He fought bravely, but lost the battle and was slain. Adil Shah made

INDIA IN 1561

Ghazni Peshwar
KABUL PROVINCE
TRIBES
KASHMIR
Srinagar
HIMALAYAN STATES
PUNJAB
R Indus
R Chenab
R Ravi
Lahore
R Sutlej
AKBAR'S DOMINIONS
HIMALAYAN STATES
RAJAS
SIND
Umarkot
RAJASTHAN
Ajmer
R Luni
Agra
R Jumna
R Ganges
Patna
BENGAL
Gaur
Dacca
Chittagong
Gwalior
Prayag
Benares
AFGHAN KINGDOM
MALWA
Patan
Ahamadabad
Ujjain
GUJRAT
Kathiawar
R Narboda
Sundry Chiefs & Rajas
GONDWANA (Chiefs & Rajas)
INDEPENDENT Chiefs
R Mahanadi
Puri
Surat
KHANDESH
R Tapti
Burhapur
BERAR
Daman
AHMADNAGAR
Thana
Ahmadnagar
Bombay
VARIOUS RAJAS
R Godavari
Kulburga
BIDAR
GOLKONDA
Golkonda
BIJAPUR
Bijapur
Goa
R Tungabhadra
R Kristna
Masulipatam
VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE
R Pennar
Nellore
Mangalore
Pennaconda
Calicut
R Cauvery
Negapatam
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Madura
TRAVANCORE
Quilon
C Comorin
CEYLON

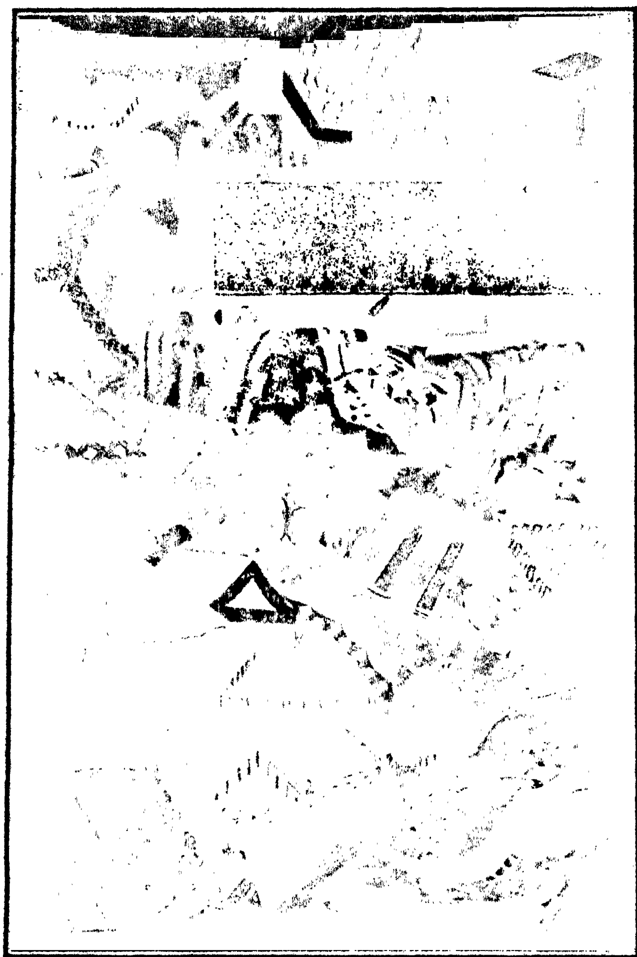
no attempt to resist the Mughals; he remained in the east and was killed in an engagement with the king of Bengal. Thus the dynasty of Sher Shah Sur came to an end.

(c). Akbar, 1556—1605

Akbar, who came to the throne at the early age of thirteen, had to face extraordinary difficulties, for the country was seething with faction, disorder and internecine wars. To put an end to chaos and evolve order was a formidable task. Babur had made an attempt to unify India politically, and Sher Shah to establish a uniform administration, but neither was able to carry the attempt to completion. Akbar had not only to unite India under one sceptre and one system of administration, he had to achieve a higher object, namely, to lay the foundations of a society held together by the bonds of a common culture.

His long reign of forty-nine years is almost equally divided into two parts by the year 1581, and the history of each part has to be considered under three aspects—(1) military expeditions, (2) administrative reforms, and (3) social and religious reforms.

(1) Military Expeditions, 1556-81.—At the time of Humayun's death Akbar was too young to undertake the government of the country; therefore Bairam Khan, the trusted lieutenant of Humayun, became regent, and Akbar remained in his tutelage for four years. Their first task was to check the victorious advance of Hemu and recover Delhi and Agra. The Mughal forces marched to Panipat, defeated and slew Hemu, and occupied Delhi and Agra. The possession of the capital gave a great advantage to the conquerors, and they soon



THE JAUHAR.
Rajput Ladies' self-immolation during the Siege of Chitor.
From *The Akbarnama.*

Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"
[*By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.*]

spread over the surrounding country. In the year 1560 Akbar, who was then a youth of eighteen, resolved to take up the reins of government in his own hands, for Bairam Khan's behaviour was becoming overbearing and he had offended many nobles. He dismissed Bairam from service and ordered him to leave India on pilgrimage. On his way to the sea coast he was murdered by an Afghan at Patan. Bairam Khan was a true and a loyal servant, and the Mughals owed their initial success to his determination and bravery.

The next twenty years saw the rapid conquest of Northern India. Under the skilful and daring generalship of Akbar, the principalities of Central India, including Kalinjar (1569) and Gondwana (1564), were annexed, and in Rajputana the fortresses of Chitor (1568) and Ranthambhor (1569) were occupied. War was carried on against the heroic Rana Pratap; Malwa was over-run and subjugated in 1564 and Gujarat was conquered in 1573. Akbar led an expedition into the east in 1574, and captured Patna and brought Bihar under his control. His generals invaded Bengal and Orissa next year, and put an end to the independent kingdom of Bengal in 1576.

Akbar had to quell many revolts during the period of the conquests. The kinsmen and nobles of the Mughal emperor were ambitious and adventurous. Many were constantly scheming for independence and principality, and their restless activity gave enormous trouble to the emperor. Akbar, however, was more than a match for them. He pursued them untiringly, and by the wonderful rapidity of his marches, his fearlessness in facing their attacks, and generosity in dealing with them when defeated, he ultimately crushed them or

reconciled them to his rule. The most serious rebellion broke out in 1580. The administrative measures and the religious policy of Akbar had created a great deal of resentment. The narrow-minded theologians, the discontented noblemen, and the newly subjugated chiefs rose against the emperor. They conspired with Muhammad Hakim, the half-brother of Akbar, and the viceroy of Kabul, and aimed at the emperor's dethronement. Akbar drew up a careful plan to meet the enemies who had risen on all sides. He personally advanced against Hakim, who fled at his approach and was allowed to retain possession of Kabul. Akbar's commanders defeated the rebels in Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat. The end of the trouble found Akbar more securely seated on the throne than ever before.

1581-1605—Akbar now turned his attention towards affairs in the north-west. Beyond the frontiers of Afghanistan, a new power was arising which might threaten the safety of the Mughal empire. The Uzbegs, who had driven Babur out of his home in Transoxiana, were under the rule of Abdullah at this time, and they were a danger to the north-western frontier of Akbar's empire. Besides, the tribes living in the hilly region between India and Afghanistan were becoming restless owing to the teachings of a religious fanatic who had founded the sect of Roshniyas.

For thirteen years (1585-98) Akbar remained in the north, and spread his armies like a fan to operate against the enemies from Kashmir to Sindh. So far as the frontier tribes were concerned only partial success was achieved, and that, too, at considerable sacrifice, including the death of Raja Birbal. The operations in Kashmir were crowned with complete success, the imperial forces


INDIA
IN
1605
Kabul
KASHMIR
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
Multan
BALUCHISTAN
R. Indus
Delhi
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
Agra
Awadh
Patna
Ajmer
R. Luni
R. Chambal
Allahabad
Patan
Ahmadabad
Ujjain
GONDWANA
R. Luni
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
Asirgarh
Dui
Surat
Daman
R. Mahanadi
Bassein
Bombay
R. Godavari
AHMADNAGAR
GOLKONDA
Goa
BIJAPUR
R. Krishna
Masulipatam
Mangalore
Nellore
POLYGARS
Pulicut
Calicut
R. Cauvery
Cochin
Madura

entered Srinagar, and Kashmir became a part of the empire in 1586. Five years later Sindh and, in 1595, Baluchistan and Kandahar, fell into his hands. These conquests brought the whole of the north-western frontier under the control of the emperor and greatly reduced the danger of invasion from Central Asia. The death of Abdullah in 1598 set Akbar's mind at rest with regard to the north-west, and he, therefore, proceeded to the Deccan.

The subjugation of Orissa in 1592 had united the whole of Northern India into a single empire; but the Deccan still remained outside. Already, in 1591, he had sent envoys to the Sultans of the Deccan asking them to recognise his suzerainty. Their mutual wars had allowed the Portuguese to obtain possession of many ports on the coast, and their subjugation was therefore necessary both for the sake of the unity of India and the recovery of Indian territory from the foreigners. The Deccan Sultans, however, refused to surrender their independence and Akbar resolved to reduce them to obedience by force. The imperial troops were ordered to march upon Ahmadnagar. For a time the heroic defence of Chand Bibi saved the city, but her death deprived the state of its only saviour. In 1599 Akbar appeared in the Deccan in person, and Ahmadnagar was captured. The next year the strong fort of Asirgarh also capitulated. The conquered territories were organised as provinces of the empire.

Akbar's Dominion.—In 1605 Akbar's dominion extended over a vast territory. Its boundaries touched Transoxiana and Persia on the north and the north-west, and Assam and Burma in the east. It stretched from the Himalayas to the frontiers of the Bijapur and Golkonda

kingdoms in the south. The empire was divided into fifteen subahs (provinces): (1) Kabul; (2) Lahore (including Kashmir); (3) Multan (including Sindh); (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Avadha; (7) Allahabad; (8) Behar; (9) Bengal (including Orissa); (10) Malwa; (11) Gujarat; (12) Ajmer; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar, and (15) Ahmadnagar.

(2) Administrative Reforms—The System of Land Revenue Administration.—Sher Shah had tried to introduce reforms in the old system of land revenue administration. But his reign had been short and was followed by confusion and Mughal conquest. His ideas remained, but they had to be applied in practice. During the first half of Akbar's reign experiments were made in order to discover what system would be most suitable, in the latter half of the reign the new system became stable and was established in the principal provinces of the empire.

The difficulties which had to be overcome were many. In the old system there was no certainty about the revenues of the state. The revenue had to be collected through intermediaries and farmers who tended to become refractory. The relations between the intermediaries and the tenants were uncertain, and the security of the tenure of the cultivators depended upon the sweet will of the intermediaries. Sometimes the assessment was made on the basis of the area sown, and sometimes on the basis of the produce reaped. Cash payments were rare and collections were usually made in grain. Akbar established an efficient system based on the measurement of areas and direct collection by the state. In the first place, he ordered the survey and measurement of the area under cultivation by means of reliable measuring instruments.

In the second place, his revenue officers computed, as correctly as possible, the total produce of each village, taking into account the area under crop, the kinds of crops and the differences between the fertility of the varieties of land. In the third place, the price of the produce was fixed in such a manner as to eliminate the effect of seasonal changes in prices, and to avoid unfairness to the cultivator.

On the basis of these figures lists were prepared for each Pargana, so that the demand of the state revenue was calculated in accordance with the yield and price of each locality separately. This demand was, however, actually fixed in cash and not in kind, and was equivalent to one-third of the average produce. It applied not only to the reserved districts directly administered by the crown, but also to the estates of the chiefs who held assignments (jagirs) of land. The procedure was as follows:—(1) In each season every field under crop was measured, the class of land in accordance with its fertility was noted, as well as the kind of crop, the areas in which crops had failed or had been injured. The entries for each peasant were added and his total produce was calculated. (2) The prices of different kinds of produce were taken from the lists, and the value of the total produce of a peasant's holding was worked out. (3) The state demand was fixed at one-third of this sum. (4) The peasant paid the sum to the local treasurer or to the collecting officer who, with the help of the village headman and the accountant, realised it from him.

In this system the peasant knew beforehand how much he had to pay to the Government, the assessment depended upon the quality of the land, and,

therefore, gave encouragement to the cultivator for improvement. Due consideration was paid to damage to crops.

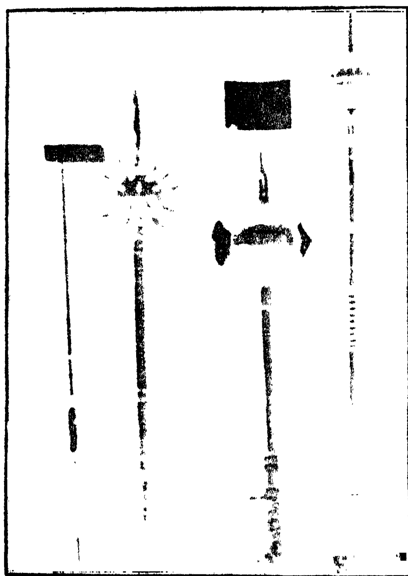
With its establishment a number of vexatious and miscellaneous taxes were abolished.

The Organisation of the Imperial Service.—The efficiency and stability of administration depends upon the officers who are appointed to serve the state. In the preceding chapters it has been shown how the Sultans of Delhi organised their corps of office-holders. When Akbar came to the throne this problem engaged his attention also. In the Middle Age no distinction was made between civil and military services, and, therefore, a single imperial service was instituted, and was known by the name of the Mansabdari system.

The word Mansab means rank or office. The Mansabdar was the bearer of a rank whose salary was fixed in accordance with his grade, and whose grade was indicated by a number which defined the contingent of troopers under his command. Akbar divided the Mansabs into 33 grades, the lowest rank was that of a Mansabdar of 10, and the highest that of 10,000. The number did not represent the actual strength of the contingent, but fixed the rank of the Mansabdar and the quota of horses he was expected to maintain.

The appointment, promotion and dismissal of a Mansabdar depended entirely upon the will of the sovereign. His rank was not hereditary, and the salary was paid either directly from the royal treasury or by means of assignments of land revenue (Jagir). A Mansabdar was expected to perform civil or military duties in accordance with the orders of the emperor.

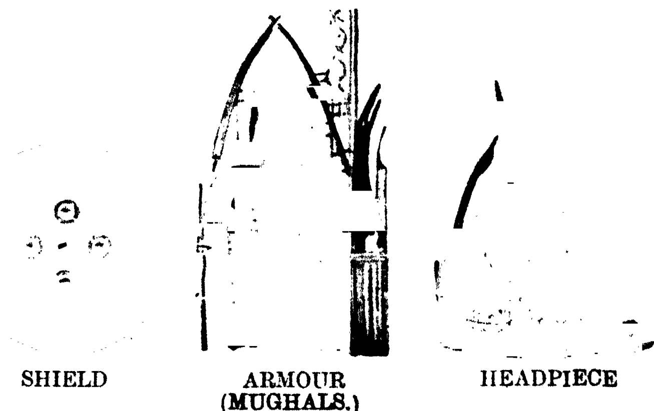
The Military Organisation.—The military strength of Akbar consisted of a small standing army and a large militia, composed of the contingents of the Mansabdars and chiefs. The standing army was maintained and equipped by the emperor, and its expenses were paid directly by the imperial treasury. One of the interesting elements of the army was the corps of gentlemen troopers, or Ahadis, who did not serve under any officer but were recruited directly. The standing army always stood in readiness for the campaigns of the emperor.



MACES AND BATTLE AXES.
(Loan Collection of Antiquities.)

One part of the militia consisted of the troops of the Rajas and chiefs who recognised the suzerainty of the emperor, and who were bound to send military assistance on demand. The other part was composed of the contingents of the Mansabdars. Each Mansabdar was expected to maintain a certain number of soldiers (*Tabinan*). The soldier provided his own horse and armour, and his salary covered the expense

of keeping a horse. He received his salary through the Mansabdar. The Mansabdars received their pay by assignments of land revenue of certain villages. If the Jagir was large, the collection of revenue was made by the agents of the Mansabdar, and the imperial officers had little control over it.



SHIELD ARMOUR HEADPIECE
(MUGHALS.)
(Loan Collection of Antiquities.)

The troops of the Mansabdars were periodically inspected. At the time of entrance into service the descriptive rolls of the Mansabdar, his troopers and horses were prepared, and the horses were branded. At the musters they were verified and certified before the salary was sanctioned.

The army was essentially a cavalry force, and its effective strength depended upon horsemen. But there were other branches too, namely, artillery and infantry. The artillery was not efficient, and the infantry was composed of foot soldiers who used all kinds of weapons and armour, but who were not properly trained and were looked down upon. Akbar made use of elephants for carrying archers and

musketeers, but they were an awkward element, and played a small part in his battles.



A RAJPUT CAVALIER.
Kalian Rai Rathor ready for Battle.
Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"
[*By courtesy of D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.*]

The Administrative System.—The first object of a government is to maintain peace and order, to defend the country from external invasions and to prevent internal

commotions. Without tranquillity and security, wealth and prosperity cannot grow, and art and culture cannot flourish. In the Middle Age the task of government was made difficult by the lack of modern means of communication and transport. Nor did the state possess the modern powerful instruments of warfare which make armed rebellion against government almost hopeless. The upkeep of an efficient army was the principal object of the state, and the most important duty of the ruler was to lead the army. The sovereign was the supreme commander of his forces, and his success depended upon the concentration of all powers in him. He was, therefore, an autocrat. The one great limitation upon his powers was that he could make no laws, as the priests and the learned were the custodians of law, which was based upon religion.

The emperor was aided in his task by his ministers, the chief of whom were:—

1. The Vakil, or Prime Minister, who was the chief adviser and assistant of the emperor.
2. The Wazir, or Finance Minister, who was also known as the Diwan.
3. The Bakhshi, or War Minister, who was in charge of the army.
4. The Sadr, or the Minister for Religion, who was the highest ecclesiastical officer.

The head of the provincial administration was the Subadar or Sipahsalar, who maintained peace and order. Under him were Faujdars or district commandants. The Diwan of a province was in charge of the provincial revenues. He dealt with Amils or collectors of revenue, and the subordinate revenue staff consisting of the Qanungo, Patwari, etc. The Kotwal was the prefect

of the city, and combined in himself the duties of a magistrate and the police. The administration of justice was carried on through *Qazis* and *Mir Adls* (judicial officers).

(3) Social and Religious Reforms.—Akbar was not only interested in establishing an efficient system of administration, he was also anxious to remove the social evils which had become prevalent among the Hindu and the Muslim communities. He was a liberal ruler who realised that the strength of a people depended upon the purity of their customs and the humaneness of their institutions. He abolished the enslavement of conquered enemies, and forbade the molestation of their wives and children. He gave orders to prevent the practice of *Sati,* and discouraged child-marriages and tried to stop a number of other superstitious customs. He abolished the taxes that were levied on pilgrims or for religious purposes. With the Hindus, Akbar established relations of amity because he desired that all his subjects should be regarded as equals. He adopted a number of Hindu ceremonies, for example, the *Tuladan* (weighing of the person of the emperor against precious things and giving them in charity). He married the daughter of Raja Bharmal Kachwaha of Amber, and thus cemented the bonds of friendship with the Hindus.

The age in which Akbar lived was one of great religious ferment. In Europe and Asia people were dissatisfied with their old religious ways, for a hard crust of rites and ceremonies, dogmas and doctrines had been formed obscuring the true purpose of religion. In order to restore the life-giving virtues of religion, and to make it the means of man's inner happiness and the instrument of love and harmony in society, it was

necessary to break the crust which benumbed and deadened the hearts of men.

In India in the fifteenth century the religion of love and devotion was rapidly capturing the mind of the people. Both Muslim and Hindu saints like Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya, were spreading this religion among the Indian masses. Akbar, who was endowed by nature with a feeling heart, yearned to understand the mysteries of life and was much affected by this movement. He was a seeker after truth. He desired peace for his own soul and for others. He longed to end the bitter quarrels of religion which divided his people, and to establish universal toleration and concord (*Sulh Kul*).

For the purpose of uniting the followers of different religions it was necessary to eliminate their differences and discover their points of agreement. At Fatehpur Sikri an *Ibadat Khana* (place of worship) was constructed in 1575 where religious discussions were held. He assembled here representatives of the different schools of the Muslim religion, and here he sat with Shaikh Mubarak and his illustrious sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl, to listen to the debates and to participate in the search for agreement. But orthodoxy and conservatism prevented the achievement of this object. The emperor took counsel with the professors of the Hindu, Jaina, Sikh, Parsi and Christian religions also, and showed great keenness in understanding their doctrines. He saw that there was truth in every religion, but men's narrowness and selfishness did not permit them to recognise this. It was, therefore, necessary for the emperor to assume the rôle of an interpreter of religious doctrines. In 1575 a decree was promulgated which declared that the



'IBADAT KHANA WITH JESUITS.

From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting.*"

[*By permission of the author and Messrs. Methuen & Co.*]

emperor was the *Imam-i-Adil* (Arbiter of Muslim Law). This sought to make him the religious head of the state. The next step was to establish a religious order for those who were prepared to seek spiritual truth under the guidance of the emperor. The members of this order were required to place their property, life, honour and religion at the disposal of the emperor, to lead a common way of life and to practise devotion. The new religion was called the Divine Faith (*Din-i-Ilahi*). The emperor did not propagate this faith by force, temptations or rewards. The number of those who joined the order was not large, for few among the rich, learned and powerful men who surrounded the throne shared the deep spiritual longings of the emperor, and after his death he had no successor worthy to guide his followers on the path. But the memory of his great dream remains. In the words of Lord Tennyson, Akbar longed "to rear a sacred fane, loftier, simpler than any Pagoda, Mosque or Church, and always open-door'd to every breath from Heaven—the dwelling place of Truth and Peace and Love and Justice."

Literature and Art.—Although Akbar never learnt to read and write, he had an enormous hunger for knowledge. He sought to satisfy this hunger by conversations with the learned and through books which were read out to him. He had a most valuable library of manuscripts on all subjects. He had books translated from the Greek, the Arabic, the Turkish and the Sanskrit languages into Persian. Among the Sanskrit works translated were the *Atharva Veda*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Lilavati*—the last one is a treatise on Arithmetic.

His patronage of literature extended to writers both in Persian and Hindi. Among the Persian writers, Abul Fazl, the chief minister, and Faizi, his brother, are the most noted. Abul Fazl wrote a history of Akbar's reign called the *Akbar Namah,* and an account of the institutions of the empire called *Ain-i-Akbari.* Faizi was the Poet Laureate, and he rendered the *Bhagavad Gita* into Persian verse. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badaoni also composed histories of the reign.

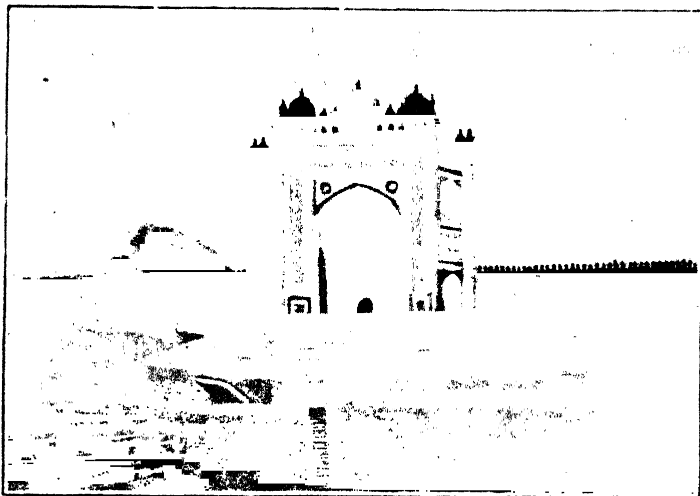
The Hindi language, which was growing rapidly, received great stimulus in Akbar's times. The prosperity and the glory of the reign, the establishment of peace and of toleration roused the creative impulse of the speakers of Hindi. The two greatest poets of Hindi, namely, Tulasi Das and Sur Das, flourished in these spacious times. Tulasi wrote the *Rama Charit Manas,* in which the life and deeds of Rama are portrayed, and the ideals of piety and morality taught through the example of the characters in the poem. Sur Das, who was a singer at Akbar's court, composed numerous lyrics expressing the love of the devotee towards Krishna. Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan, who was a master of many languages, was no mean poet of Hindi. His didactic verses are deservedly popular.

Akbar highly appreciated music and he collected at his court many celebrated singers of the age. Among them Tansen of Gwalior was the greatest.

The art of painting also received great stimulus from him. The Persian artists, among whom Abdus Samad was the most noted, taught their methods to the painters of India, and a new Indian style of art was developed by them. Daswanth and Basawan were the leaders of this style. These painters were employed to illustrate manu-

scripts. The same tendency towards the absorption of Muslim elements into Hindu art was encouraged in architecture. Akbar, who was a great builder, employed this style in the buildings at Fatehpur Sikri.

Akbar's Personality and Character.—Akbar is one of the greatest kings known to history. As a con-



Copyright *Archaeological Survey of India.*

BULAND DARWAZA, FATEHPUR SIKRI.

queror, ruler, statesman and nation builder he stands in the front rank of the world's great men. Called to the duties of a king at an age when he was no more than a boy, he had to fight against numerous and heavy odds. His enemies filled the whole country. He conquered them one after another, and built up an empire of a vast area extending from sea to sea, and from the mountains in the north to the plains of the Deccan. He showed qualities

of the highest generalship in the planning of his campaigns and in the execution of his plans. He was bold, swift and resourceful, possessed of unlimited endurance and reckless courage, and a self-confident spirit which never yielded to difficulty or despair. The magic of his leadership made heroes of his followers and companions. As a ruler and statesman his achievement is even more remarkable. He elaborated the organisation of an administrative system whose principles have lasted to the present day. This system established uniform and direct relations between the state and the people, and while securing the stability of government, ensured the welfare of the people.

But above all his claim to greatness is based on the initiation of the policy whose aim was the establishment of concord and unity among his peoples. Justice was one aspect of this policy, the creation of an Indian civilization combining the best features of the Hindu and Muslim cultures was another. He recognised the value of all religions, and not only desired that each community should practise its own without interference from the others, but attempted to find a path which all could pursue together. The task which he set to himself was harder than that of any other king and, although he did not attain success in its fulfilment, the attempt itself is worthy of the highest praise.

Akbar had a wonderful personality. He was a strong, well-built man of a stature slightly above the average. His forehead was high, and under his thin eye-brows his narrow eyes sparkled brightly. Naturally he was gentle, kind and loving, but when his anger was roused the outburst of his wrath was most terrible. He possessed extraordinary energy, and his days were filled



AKBAR HUNTING.
From the *Akbarnama.*

Reproduced from " *The Splendour that was Ind.*"
[*By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.*]

with restless activity, yet he was fond of meditation and spent hours in solitude absorbed in devotion and thought. He was simple and straightforward, although a master of diplomacy and statecraft. He was just to all men.

(d). Jahangir, 1605—1627

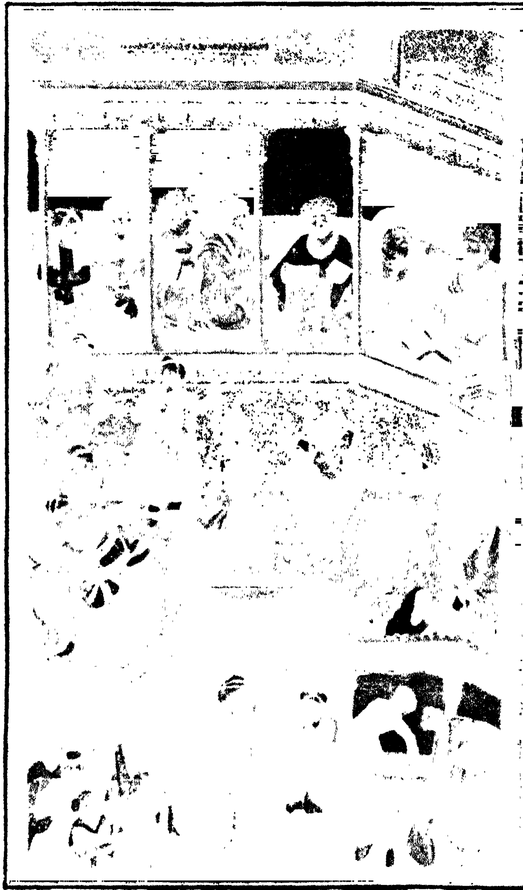
Jahangir was the eldest son of Akbar. He was a pet child on whom the father had lavished many favours. But the child had grown up to be a self-willed prince whose ambitions had made him impatient. During his father's life he desired to seize the imperial power. He instigated Bir Singh Bundela to murder Abul Fazl, whom he regarded as his enemy. He rebelled even against Akbar, but he was pardoned and reconciliation was brought about between father and son. When Akbar died, the crown passed peacefully to Jahangir.

Jahangir did not possess the great qualities of his father, but he was quite an able ruler, and he had the statesmanship to follow the conciliatory policy laid down by Akbar. His reign which lasted from 1605 to 1627 was, on the whole, peaceful, and its events may be divided into three periods.

The First Period, 1605-11.—Soon after his accession he made regulations by which the welfare of the people was promoted. He abolished tolls which hampered trade, built rest-houses, hospitals, schools and wells; forbade the use of intoxicants; and made himself accessible to all for justice.

Early in the period he had to suppress the rebellion of his son, Khusrau, in 1606. Khusrau fled to the Punjab and raised the standard of revolt. Guru Arjun favoured him, but the imperial forces defeated his troops, and he was captured and put into prison. The enemies of Guru

Arjun, among whom was his own brother, brought charges of treason against the Guru, and Jahangir had to sentence him to death.



THE BIRTH OF SALIM.

From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting.*"

[*By permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co.*]

The Second Period, 1611-22.—In 1611 Jahangir married Nur Jahan, who was the widow of a Persian nobleman, Sher Afgan. She acquired a great ascendancy over the mind of her husband, and became the joint ruler of the empire. Her relatives occupied the highest posts of responsibility, and the emperor allowed them to conduct the affairs of the state. Among them Itmad-ud-Daulah, her father, and Asaf Khan, her brother, were the most important. Asaf Khan gave his daughter, the famous Mumtaz Mahal, in marriage to Shah Jahan and marked him out for succession to the throne.

Of the military exploits of the period the first in importance was the war against Mewar. Shah Jahan was appointed to conduct the operations, and he forced Rana Amar Singh to sue for peace in 1614. The submission of Chitor brought the whole of Rajputana under the suzerainty of the Mughals.

In the Deccan, Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian noble, had succeeded in reorganising the administration and military forces of Ahmadnagar. The Mughal officers who were sent to the Deccan quarrelled among themselves, and allowed the Deccanis an opportunity to recover the lost territories. At last Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was appointed to the supreme command in 1612, and he inflicted defeats upon the Deccanis. But in 1616 Jahangir himself departed for the south, and placed Shah Jahan in charge of the command. The rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, realising the futility of the struggle, then concluded peace. The fort of Ahmadnagar was delivered, and the Deccan Sultans offered tribute and paid homage to the Mughals in 1617.

The capture of Kangra in 1620 was the last



PROCESSIONAL SCENE AT THE COURT OF JAHANGIR.

(*Indian Museum.*)

conquest of the reign. For in 1622 the great fort of Kandahar, which guarded the road from Persia to Kabul, was besieged by the Persian armies. The dissensions at the court prevented any effective support of the garrison, and the fort fell into the hands of the Persians.

Plague.—In 1616 the plague broke out in the Punjab and spread over Northern India. It ravaged the country for eight years.

The Third Period, 1622-27.—Jahangir's health was rapidly declining at this time and, therefore, the question of succession had become acute. He had four sons, Khusrau, Parvez, Khurram and Shahryar. Khusrau had been in disgrace since his revolt, and he was murdered in 1622. Khurram, who is known by his title of Shah Jahan, was the favourite of Nur Jahan till 1622, but in that year she gave her daughter, by Sher Afgan, to Shahryar in marriage, and began to favour him. Parvez, who did not show much capacity, was supported by Mahabat Khan, one of the most powerful nobles of the court, and an enemy of Nur Jahan.

The intrigues for power between these parties fill the history of the last five years of Jahangir's reign. The first to strike a blow for power was Shah Jahan who in 1623 advanced upon Delhi. But Nur Jahan was supported by the old officers, and Shah Jahan was defeated. He fled to the Deccan and tried to secure the help of the Sultans of the Deccan. He failed in this, and proceeded to Orissa and made himself master of Bengal and Bihar. Again he met with resistance from the imperial forces and was obliged to retire to the Deccan. Finding no prospect of success in his designs, he wrote

to his father asking for pardon. In 1626 his rebellion came to an end and he was reconciled to Jahangir.

Nur Jahan now turned to Mahabat Khan who had espoused the cause of Parvez. She deprived him of his office and brought charges of corruption against him. Mahabat Khan, in despair, resolved upon bold measures. He seized the emperor while he was encamped on the bank of the Jhelum and made him captive. Nur Jahan, however, proved too clever for him. She effected the escape and release of her royal husband. Mahabat was forced to seek refuge in the Deccan. Parvez died in 1626 and Mahabat joined Shah Jahan. Next year Jahangir, while returning from Kashmir, died at Bhimbar. His remains were buried at Shahdara, a suburb of Lahore, and a tomb was erected over them by Nur Jahan. On the death of her husband Nur Jahan retired from the world and lived a quiet and lonely life.

Jahangir's reign is remarkable for the great development of arts. The emperor was a zealous patron of painting and an expert in the appreciation of pictures. The school of painting established by his predecessors produced some of its finest work during his reign. Among the painters Nadir Samarqandi's name deserves special mention.

The fame of the Mughal empire had spread to distant lands, and in Jahangir's time envoys came to his court from European countries. England sent Captain Hawkins in 1608 and Sir Thomas Roe in 1615. Roe was the ambassador of James I, who came to conclude a commercial treaty. Roe was opposed by the Portuguese, but he succeeded in obtaining some concessions which, however, did not satisfy him. He returned to England in 1619. Both Hawkins and Roe have left accounts of

what they saw in India. Their accounts are interesting but not very reliable.

Character of Jahangir and the Estimate of his Reign.—Jahangir was an able, kind but ease-loving king. He had a broad outlook on religious matters and he practised complete toleration. He had a genuine desire to be just, and he attempted to keep intact Akbar's system of administration.

Jahangir's love for drink and his regard for Nur Jahan and her relations, however, produced evil effects. The emperor ceased to lead military expeditions and showed a disinclination for exertion. The result was that party factions grew among the nobles, and mutual jealousies and quarrels sprang up which weakened the empire. Jahangir's love of ease also affected the efficiency of the administration. The system of remunerating the nobles by assignments of estates instead of payments from the treasury increased, the revenue from the Khalsa lands fell, while expenditure greatly expanded. The results were extravagance, inefficiency of administration and oppression of the peasant.

(e). Shah Jahan, 1627—1658

Nur Jahan's intrigues in favour of Shahryar had failed, and on the death of Jahangir, Shah Jahan ascended the throne. During his reign the internal security of the empire was little disturbed, and the Mughal arms again became busy with the expansion of dominion.

The Rebellion in Bundelkhand, 1627-38.—Bir Singh Bundela, the favourite of Jahangir, died in 1627. His son, Jujhar Singh, afraid lest the wealth acquired by his father might be seized by the royal officers, fled from the court and raised the standard of

revolt in Bundelkhand. The emperor sent against him Mughal, Rajput and Bundela commanders. They captured Orchha, the capital, and forced Jujhar to take to the jungles, where he was murdered by the Gonds in 1635.

War with the Portuguese, 1631-32.—The Portuguese, who had been permitted to settle at Hughli and had received privileges for trade, began to abuse their position. They fortified the place, carried on trade in slaves and made forcible conversions to Christianity. In 1631 Shah Jahan gave orders to the governor of Bengal to drive them out. Hughli was captured in 1632, and the Christians, who refused to accept Islam, were enslaved or put into prison.

The Deccan Wars, 1628-38.—The aim of Akbar's policy in the Deccan was the subjugation of the five sultanates. He succeeded in annexing Khandesh, Berar and a part of Ahmadnagar. His son, Jahangir, made little progress in the achievement of this aim. Shah Jahan, who during his father's reign had held the command of the Subahs of the Deccan, gained some success. But the last five years of Jahangir's reign were disturbed, and the Deccan Sultans made use of the opportunity to reassert their independence. Shah Jahan resolved upon pursuing a vigorous policy. In 1633 the last king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was captured, and Daulatabad fell into the hands of the Mughals. In 1636 Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan himself. The Qutub Shahi ruler of Golkonda submitted, promised to pay an annual tribute and recognised the overlordship of the emperor. Then the imperial troops surrounded Bijapur territory, and the Adil Shahi king was forced to

acknowledge the emperor's suzerainty, and the boundaries of his state were clearly fixed.

The Mughal dominion in the Deccan was divided into four provinces:—Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad, and Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy in 1636.

The only enemies in the Deccan now remaining were Shahji Bhonsla in Konkan, and Beharji Shah Rathor in Baglana. The Mughals forced Shahji to come to terms and he entered the Bijapur service. Aurangzeb annexed Baglana in 1638.

The North-West, 1638-53.—In 1638, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, turned against his master, made over the fort to the Mughals, and entered their service. Ten years later the ruler of Persia laid siege to the fort, and the Mughal garrison, left without support, surrendered it. The fall of Kandahar struck a great blow at the fame of the Mughal empire, and Shah Jahan made three efforts to recover the fort in 1649, 1652 and 1653. Aurangzeb led the Mughal forces in the first two attempts and Dara Shukoh in the third, but the attempts proved of no avail. The three expeditions cost a tremendous amount of money, but what was worse, it lowered the Mughals in the estimation of their neighbours.

War in Central Asia, 1645-47.—Shah Jahan was descended from Timur who was a ruler of Central Asia. He inherited the desire cherished by the Timurides to obtain possession of their ancestral territory. In 1645 disputes broke out in the royal family of Bukhara, and Shah Jahan considered it a favourable opportunity of conquering Central Asia. He sent an army under Murad which entered Balkh in 1646. Aurangzeb was then

appointed Governor, and he fought against the Uzbegs valiantly. But he found it impossible to hold the country and evacuated Balkh in 1647. The Central Asian adventure cost a great deal in money and men, and proved an utter failure.

The Deccan, 1653-58.—Aurangzeb had been Viceroy of the Deccan from 1636 to 1644. After him there came a number of Governors who ruled for short periods, and who were unable to administer the affairs of the newly conquered regions efficiently. The country was decaying. The cultivated lands were turning into jungle and the population was declining. Naturally the revenues were diminishing, while the expenditure on the maintenance of the army remained high. Aurangzeb had to struggle against the lack of funds and the evils of bad administration. Unfortunately the emperor paid little heed to the requests of his son for financial assistance, and this fact added to the difficulties of Aurangzeb and embittered the relations between the father and the son. However, Aurangzeb did a great deal to improve the condition of the Deccan. Murshid Quli Khan, his Diwan, introduced there the land revenue system of Akbar, and the effect was that before 1658 cultivation had much increased and the revenue was enhanced.

Aurangzeb's relations with the Sultans of the Deccan were strained. The annual tribute was not paid regularly by the king of Golkonda, and, therefore, the Mughals demanded from him a part of the territory whose revenue was equal to the tribute. The kingdom was suffering from internal troubles. Mir Jumla, who was a powerful officer of Golkonda, intrigued against his king; and the king, who had been offended by the conduct of his son, had put his family into prison. The son appealed to Aurangzeb

for protection. Aurangzeb, who was seeking for an excuse, marched on Golkonda and laid siege to the city. The emperor, who was dissatisfied with Aurangzeb, ordered him to raise the siege. The Mughals, however, annexed some territory, realised the arrears of tribute and gained the services of Mir Jumla.

In 1657 there was disorder in the Bijapur state. Aurangzeb, having obtained the permission of the emperor to put an end to it, set out to conquer Bijapur. Bidar and Kaliani were captured and the Bijapuris were defeated. But again Shah Jahan interfered, and a treaty by which the Mughals gained many fortresses and a large indemnity brought the war to a close.

Shah Jahan's Administration—Shah Jahan was one of the most magnificent rulers of India. His empire extended over an area wider than that of any of his predecessors, and he maintained in it peace which remained unbroken for thirty years. His revenue was larger than that of any previous king or emperor, and his treasury was filled to overflowing. The arts of India attained unprecedented development. He adorned the country with buildings of unexcelled beauty—one of them the Taj, the great mausoleum which he erected over the grave of his beloved queen (1631-43), is one of the wonders of the world. His Peacock Throne, studded with precious stones, was a unique product of the jewellers' art. His workshops gave employment to numerous skilled craftsmen.

Shah Jahan is known as the Shahinshah-i-Adil, the just emperor. He took a personal interest in the administration of justice, which he dispensed with the advice of the learned in Muslim Law. Neither the great nor the small escaped his punishment if they



SHAH JAHAN ON PEACOCK THRONE.

From the Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild.

From Brown's "*Indian Painting Under the Mughals.*"
[*By permission of the Oxford University Press.*]

committed wrong, although some of the punishments inflicted were cruel and even barbarous. In one respect, however, Shah Jahan's justice suffers in comparison with that of his father's. He was not as tolerant of the Hindus as was Jahangir or Akbar, and his reign saw the destruction of a number of Hindu temples.

He had a large army and his court was magnificent. Architects, painters, artists and writers added lustre to his reign. The splendour of India attracted European travellers to the country for profit and pleasure.

But, although India appeared wealthy and prosperous, the forces of decay were silently growing. It has been pointed out before that the strength of the state depended upon the efficiency of the imperial services and the prosperity of the peasantry in the villages. The laxity of Jahangir and the extravagance of Shah Jahan affected both.

So far as the imperial service is concerned, the changes tended to the decrease of central authority. The number of office-bearers (Mansabdars) increased, and their salaries were greatly enhanced. Akbar had attempted the system of cash payments to them, but this was found impracticable, and, therefore, their pay was given in assignments of land revenue. At first the assignments were limited, but in the time of Shah Jahan nearly seven-eighths of the land revenue was absorbed in meeting the salaries of the Mansabdars, and the emperor was left with the small portion of one-eighth for the affairs of the central government. Thus, little money was left for a standing army or for the improvement of the condition of the people. The empire depended largely upon the contingents of the nobles,

whose loyalty was undermined by party factions and mutual jealousies.

The condition of the cultivators steadily became worse after Akbar. He had tried to establish direct relations between the government and the individual peasants. After him the old system of intermediaries grew up again. The Zamindars, or tribal chiefs, were never wiped out, but new classes of intermediaries now appeared. The government and the great Mansabdars appointed farmers of revenues, that is, persons who undertook to pay a fixed sum to the government or the Mansabdar, provided they were allowed to collect the tax and to keep to themselves whatever remained after paying the revenue. Then a new method of assessing land revenue was introduced; the whole village paid a lump sum to the government and fixed the share of each cultivator, which was realised from him by the headmen of the village. Besides, the state demand also was raised. Akbar had fixed one-third of the gross produce as the share of the state. In the reign of Shah Jahan the share was one-half, which left to the villager nothing but the barest necessaries of life.

The result of the changes was that the pressure upon the villages was so increased that the peasants were impoverished. They began to desert their villages and much land went out of cultivation. Thus, in order to meet the expenditure of Shah Jahan which had increased enormously, the peasants were ground down. The evil effects of this policy were far-reaching. They began to manifest themselves during the later years of Shah Jahan's reign, and they were responsible more than any other factor for the decline of the Mughal empire in subsequent years.

The War of Succession.—In 1658, Shah Jahan fell seriously ill after a long and prosperous reign of thirty years, and the question of succession assumed immediate importance. He had four sons, but each one desired the throne for himself. Dara Shukoh was the eldest. He was the favourite of the father, and at the time of his illness was in charge of much of the imperial administration. Dara was deeply interested in religious and spiritual affairs. He had studied the *Vedanta* and translated the *Upanishads;* but he did not possess the qualities necessary for a ruler. He had little experience of war, and he had not much capacity for practical affairs. The flattery of courtiers and the indulgence of the father had made him vain, ease-loving and weak. Shuja, the second son, was brave and intelligent but lacked firmness and statesmanship. Murad, the youngest, was quite incompetent. Aurangzeb, the third son, was undoubtedly the most capable of the sons of Shah Jahan. He had served in all the wars of the empire, and proved his capacity as a skilful general and a cool and brave warrior. He was a born leader of men and knew how to manage them. He was prudent, hard-working and resourceful. As an administrator his ability was great, and as a diplomat he was unrivalled. Unfortunately his relations with his father had never been cordial. He was given the hardest tasks, yet received grudging support for accomplishing them. He was constantly censured and always suspected.

On receiving the news of their father's illness the sons began to take measures to achieve their aims. Dara, who was with his father, was nominated by Shah Jahan as his successor. Shuja and Murad crowned themselves, but Aurangzeb waited. Ultimately

he made alliance with Shuja and Murad, and the brothers left their provinces and moved with their armies towards the capital. The forces of Murad and Aurangzeb joined at Dipalpur, near Ujjain. Dara despatched Jai Singh to oppose the advance of Shuja, and Jaswant Singh that of Murad and Aurangzeb. The army of Jai Singh routed Shuja near Benares, and forced him into Bihar. Jaswant encountered Murad and Aurangzeb at Dharmat. But Jaswant was defeated on account of the treachery of some of his officers, and he escaped to Jodhpur.

The forces now resumed their march, and crossing the Chambal arrived at Samugarh, in the neighbourhood of Agra. Dara gave them battle at this place, but there were jealousies and divisions among his supporters, and one of his chief commanders proved a traitor. Dara was no match for his brother in generalship, and his troops lacked the training and experience which Aurangzeb's army had obtained in his wars. The result was the complete defeat of Dara, who fled from the field of battle to Delhi.

Aurangzeb entered Agra and, placing Shah Jahan under restraint, assumed the imperial authority.

Murad, who showed resentment at the growing power of Aurangzeb, was taken prisoner by a stratagem and placed in confinement in Gwalior. Later he was tried and put to death. Aurangzeb now pursued Dara, who at his approach fled from Delhi to the Punjab, then to Sindh and lastly to Gujarat and Rajputana. He made a stand at Ajmer but was defeated again. Jai Singh chased him through the Baluch territory, and at last captured and delivered him to Aurangzeb. He was brought to Delhi, paraded through the streets, and executed.

Shuja, who had advanced from Bengal to contest the succession, had been defeated by Dara's commanders and had retired into Bihar. But when Aurangzeb assumed the imperial authority, Shuja gathered his forces and proceeded to Allahabad. Aurangzeb offered battle to Shuja at Khajwah, and won a complete victory. Shuja was pursued and, after a great deal of fighting, driven out of Bengal. He took refuge in Arakan where he was assassinated.

Aurangzeb, thus having overcome all his rivals, ascended the throne and held a grand coronation ceremony in 1659. Shah Jahan remained in confinement in the fort of Agra until he died in 1666.

(f). Aurangzeb, 1658—1707

By defeating his brothers and imprisoning his father, Aurangzeb removed the obstacles which stood in his way to the throne. His success was mainly due to his ability, for many noblemen of the empire, whether Muslim or Hindu, recognised that he alone of the brothers was the most fitted to undertake the onerous responsibilities of such a vast dominion. The difficulties which faced him were indeed tremendous. The Mughal administration was breaking down under the weight of its own extravagance, the pressure of taxation was ruining agriculture which was the principal source of revenue, and the peasantry was deserting the countryside because the profits of cultivation were seized by the state and the cultivator was oppressed and impoverished. Trade was hampered by the duties and tolls which were collected on roads and ferries and in bazars, and the exactions of the zamindars and officers threatened to ruin the merchants. On the

other hand, the noblemen who followed the example of the court preferred to live in luxury and ease. They were beginning to dislike the rough and hard life of soldiers, and even their military campaigns were conducted with pomp and circumstance. They were neglecting their duties towards their tenants in their estates, and allowing the land-tax to be collected by farmers. The imperial service was becoming a hereditary nobility. The war of succession added to these difficulties. The loyalty of the commanders and officers was unduly strained, and their desire for personal security and power was strengthened. The authority of the government received a great shock, and the elements of disorder raised their head on all sides. The disaffected chiefs, tribal and communal leaders and officers took advantage of the discontent among the peasantry to spread confusion and rebellion.

Aurangzeb's own temperament and the circumstances in which he came to power enhanced them further. He had a cold and calculating mind and narrow sympathies. His views on religion were strict, and he held them sincerely. His earnestness brought him into conflict with those who differed from him in religion or who took their religion light-heartedly, and it unfortunately encouraged hypocrisy. Aurangzeb's opposition to Dara had made him a champion of orthodoxy, for Dara was a liberal in religious opinions. The stricter Muslims naturally rallied to the side of Aurangzeb, and his policy had to incline in their favour.

The movement for reform among the Hindus had sought to purify Hinduism and to rouse the conscience of the Hindus. The aim of the reformers was to make the individual live a better and nobler life, and to remove

the inequalities and injustices which existed in society. The sects which they founded gathered many adherents. But the transformation of some of these sects from purely religious brotherhoods to political communities raised difficulties for the empire. Then, during this period, Hindu tribes, especially the Rajputs, migrated to new territories in the Gangetic valley, and their settlements led to local disturbances which the state had to combat. The general stir among the Hindus confronted the empire with a serious problem.

To overcome these difficulties it was necessary to check the extravagance of the administration and to place the fear of God in the hearts of its supporters. Thus conviction and circumstances both pointed to the same policy if order was to be maintained and administration purified and reformed.

Aurangzeb's Reign, First Period, 1658-82

Disturbances and Rebellions.—Aurangzeb enjoyed little peace on coming to the throne, and the first half of his reign was spent largely in suppressing the disturbances which were caused by the lawless outbreaks of the zamindars and tribal chiefs, the revolts of the princes and the risings of the Hindu sects. The work of extending the frontiers of the empire was also continued.

Among the most serious outbreaks were those in the provinces of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad. In the province of Agra the Jats, who had recently settled in and around Mathura, showed a most refractory spirit in paying the land revenue. Led by Gokala, they continued to defy for ten years the Mughal authority, and murdered the Faujdar of Mathura in 1669. Then at last the imperial forces were sent against them

under the command of Mughal and Rajput officers, and the emperor himself had to march to the disaffected area. The rebels were defeated and exemplary punishments were inflicted upon them. In the course of quelling the rising, the temple of Keshavadeva was destroyed, although the emperor took precautions to prevent barbarities towards the common peasants.

The Bais Rajputs in Oudh, and Hardi and other zamindars in the Allahabad district, spread disorder and set the imperial authority at naught. The emperor took revenge by destroying the temples. At Benares, which was situated in the province of Allahabad, the temple of Vishwanath was demolished in 1669.

In Bundelkhand, Champat Rai Bundela, who was in the service of the Mughals for a long time, rebelled early in the reign. Aurangzeb sent Mughal and Bundela officers in his pursuit and he was killed. His son, Chhatrasal, had a chequered career. Sometimes he joined the imperial service, and at other times he deserted the Mughals and defied them.

There were other vassal princes, too, who gave trouble to the government but ultimately submitted.

Among the Hindu sects who transformed themselves were the Satnamis and the Sikhs. The Satnamis lived in the territories of Mewat and Narnol. They were mostly peasants and artisans. In 1672, disaffection spread amongst them and they rebelled. They gained some success against the local officers, but the imperial troops, supported by Rajput contingents, suppressed them.

The Sikhs, whose history is narrated elsewhere, had become by this time a political organisation. The Gurus had become hereditary rulers and had assumed royal pomp. Guru Hargovind had even attacked the imperial

troops. His son, Tegh Bahadur, joined the Mughals, and fought for them in the Assam War, in 1668. But later, he rebelled and was beheaded by the emperor. Then war broke out between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Guru Govind Singh (1676-1708), the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and the last Guru of the Sikhs, set out to establish a principality for the Sikhs. In the war which followed the Sikhs were defeated, and the sons of the Guru were put to death. In 1706, Govind Singh entered the imperial service and visited the Deccan to fight on behalf of the empire. On Aurangzeb's death he assisted Bahadur Shah in securing the crown, and accompanied him to the south. He reached Nander and was murdered by an Afghan in 1708.

Frontier Wars.—The Pathan clans living on the north-west frontier were a cause of trouble to the Mughal emperors since Akbar's days. They rebelled and plundered the caravans passing from India to Kabul, and cut off imperial garrisons. To establish lasting peace among them was an exceedingly difficult task. It had taxed the resources of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb had to undertake expeditions to put down their lawlessness. From 1667, when the first rising of Yusuf Zai Pathans took place, to 1679, the Mughal armies were engaged in fighting the tribes. At last success was achieved partly by force, but chiefly by paying subsidies and setting clan against clan. The frontier wars produced many harmful effects. They drained the finances and made the pursuit of a vigorous policy in the Deccan impossible. Thus Shivaji obtained the opportunity to strengthen his position before the Mughals could undertake a serious campaign against the Marathas.

Rajput Rebellion.—There were three important

Hindu States in Rajputana—Marwar (capital, Jodhpur) ruled by the Rathors, Mewar (capital, Udaypur) ruled by the Sisodias, and Jaipur ruled by the Kachchhwahas. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had served Shah Jahan with great loyalty. But he opposed Aurangzeb at Dharmat and acted treacherously later. He was, however, pardoned and restored to high office. He held commands in the Deccan, and fought against Shivaji and in the frontier wars. He died without leaving an heir in 1678, at Jamrud, near the Khaibar Pass. His followers left the post without permission and came to Lahore, where his queen gave birth to a son. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb had seized Jodhpur, and when the Raja's family reached Delhi he ordered that his son should be brought up in his palace, and promised to invest him as Raja, when he grew up. The Rathors became suspicious, and Durgadas fled from Delhi with the child. He was followed by the Mughal forces which overran Marwar. Jaswant's queen, who was a Sisodia princess, appealed to the Rana of Mewar for assistance, and war broke out between Udaypur and the empire. During the course of the war the Rajputs succeeded in winning over Prince Akbar, the young son of Aurangzeb, and placed the imperialists in a difficult position; but ultimately the Rajputs were defeated, and the war was brought to a close in 1681. The Rana of Udaypur submitted and entered the imperial service. Durgadas continued to defy the Mughals for long, but at last he submitted and obtained a Mansab and a post.

The Conquests.—On the eastern frontier of the empire were situated the principalities of Kuch Behar and Assam. The Ahom tribe held sway over them. Their Raja seized some Mughal territory during the war

of succession, and the emperor sent Mir Jumla to punish him. In 1661 he annexed Kuch Behar, and then advanced into Assam. The capital, Garhgaon, was taken and the Raja was compelled to sue for peace in 1663. There was some trouble in Assam later, but that was put down; and in 1667 the Mughals captured Chatgaon and put an end to piracy in Eastern Bengal.

The Marathas.—When the Mughals began to extend their dominion over the Deccan, a number of Maratha chiefs accepted their service; Shahji Bhonsla was one of them. He changed his allegiance later by joining the Bijapuri service. His son, Shivaji, taking advantage of the war between Bijapur and the empire, raised an army and began to seize forts and plunder the towns. In 1660 Shaista Khan, the Mughal Subadar of the Deccan, undertook to suppress him. He captured Poona and other places; but in 1663 he was wounded and was transferred to Bengal. Next year Shivaji plundered Surat, and Raja Jai Singh was sent against him. He captured the Maratha forts and obliged Shivaji to beg for peace. By the Treaty of Purandhar (1665), Shivaji surrendered a number of forts. For some years the Marathas remained at peace, but in 1670, finding the Mughal troops in the Deccan reduced, Shivaji became openly hostile. He again plundered Surat (1670), and raided Berar and Baglana, and gained success against the Mughals who were quarrelling among themselves. But the desertion of his son, Shambhuji, to the Mughals in 1678 weakened the Marathas, and they lost important forts.

On Shivaji's death in 1680, Shambhuji became Raja. He renewed the raids into Mughal territory, plundered Burhanpur and raided Aurangabad. Aurangzeb

was engaged in the war against the Rajputs, and no effective measures could be taken against the Marathas. But when Prince Akbar fled from Marwar and took refuge with Shambhuji, he was greatly alarmed. He brought the Rajput war to a close, and turned his attention to the Deccan.

Administrative Measures.—Aurangzeb's reign began in serious difficulties. They were the result of a bad financial policy and of extravagance. They produced agricultural distress and stimulated disorder. It was, therefore, necessary to reduce expenditure and change the financial policy. The life of luxury and wealth had made the imperial officials ease-loving, selfish and corrupt. Some remedy had to be found to restore a sense of duty and of loyalty among them. Toleration had failed, so far, to create a higher sense of duty or of unity among the Hindus and Muslims. On the other hand the Muslims had become lax in the observance of their faith. Aurangzeb, who was strictly religious, could not tolerate this.

His measures were directed towards economy, towards prohibition of practices not permitted by Islam, and towards establishing a state regulated by religious injunctions. He curtailed the court festivities and ceremonials, and dismissed court musicians, poets, artists and historians. He tried to increase the income by levying enhanced taxes on the Hindu merchants, and by reviving the poll tax (Jazia) on the Hindus; but at the same time he stopped the income from taxes on Hindu pilgrimages. He set a personal example of simple living by earning his livelihood by sewing caps and preparing and selling manuscripts of the Quran. He appointed censors of morals and prohibited the use and sale of

intoxicants. He took into service Muslim accountants and clerks to work along with the Hindus. He prohibited the building of new temples and the repairing of old ones. He demolished the temples situated in the provinces where Hindu risings occurred.

Aurangzeb's measures did not solve the two difficulties of finance and discipline in the imperial service. The economic condition of the empire became worse on account of his never-ending wars, and his nobility grew more and more demoralised and less and less loyal. His religious policy also produced little effect. The Hindus became sullen, but the Muslims did not improve or reform themselves.

The evil effects of these measures did not become apparent in the first period of the reign. On the contrary in 1681 his position was very strong. "With every enemy removed from his path, the whole empire of India obeying his command, and wealth and culture increasing from the peace and order that his firm and vigilant rule had ensured to the country, Aurangzeb seemed now to have attained to the summit of human happiness and glory."

Aurangzeb's Reign, Second Period, 1682—1707

Wars in the Deccan.—On the flight of Akbar towards the Deccan, Aurangzeb determined to proceed to the south to put an end to the growing disorder which had resulted from the decline of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and the growth of Maratha ambitions. He was so deeply involved in these operations that he was never able to return to the north. He spent the latter half of his reign in fighting in the Deccan, where he eventually died in 1707.

The Conquest of Bijapur.—The emperor desired the king of Bijapur to help him in suppressing the Marathas, but he declined to join the emperor and continued to support Shambhuji. It became necessary, therefore, to subdue Bijapur. Aurangzeb arrived at Ahmadnagar and laid siege to Bijapur. The Marathas and the king of Golkonda helped the Bijapuris, and gave great trouble to the Mughal forces by cutting off their food supplies. But all efforts to save Bijapur failed and



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A BIJAPUR GUN.

in 1686, Sikandar, the last Adil Shahi king, surrendered the fort, and the kingdom became a province of the Mughal empire.

The Conquest of Golkonda.—The kings of Golkonda had, during the last fifty years, misruled the country. Abul Hasan, the last sultan, placed the whole authority into the hands of the two Maratha Brahman

brothers, Madanna and Akanna. They made an alliance with the Marathas, and although they openly maintained the attitude of loyal tributaries of the Mughals, they were secretly hostile to them. In the war against Bijapur they gave active help to the enemy of the empire, and, therefore, Aurangzeb sent his forces against Golkonda. The murder of the Maratha brothers to placate the Mughals proved of no avail, for on the fall of Bijapur the emperor advanced upon Golkonda. Famine, pestilence and the intrigues of the Mughal officers prolonged the siege, but at last the treachery of the commandant of



A MUGHAL CANNON.
(*Loan Collection of Antiquities.*)

Golkonda led to the surrender of the fort. Abul Hasan was taken captive and the kingdom was annexed in 1687.

The Maratha War.—Aurangzeb had hastened to the Deccan because the Marathas were rapidly growing in power, and with Prince Akbar in their midst they were a serious menace to his authority. He arrived at

Aurangabad in 1682 and disposed his forces against them. At first they gained no successes, but Shambhuji's follies and the general discontent and desertions among the Maratha officers gave the required opportunity to the Mughals. The fall of Bijapur and Golkonda set Aurangzeb free to deal with them. Shambhuji was wasting the wealth of his father in living a life of heedless pleasure. The Mughals seized his forts and captured him by surprise. He was paraded through the camp and executed in 1687. His son, Sahu, was brought up at court.

Aurangzeb's career had so far met with complete success. The Deccan was brought under complete subjection; and all India was united under the sway of the Mughal empire. But the tide soon began to turn. The Marathas, under their new king Rajaram, left the northern territory under the charge of his officials and took residence at Jinji in the Karnatak. In 1698, the Mughals captured Jinji, and then they sought to reduce the hill fortresses in the Konkan. On Rajaram's death in 1700, Tarabai became regent, and she ably conducted the war against the Mughals. Although fortresses fell into the hands of the imperial officers after prolonged and costly sieges, the Maratha captains laid the Deccan waste and their bold raiding expeditions spread havoc all round. The imperial contingents were cut off, the supplies of treasure and grain from the north were plundered, and the imperial camp was reduced to the greatest hardships.

The emperor's wars in the south hit the finances of the empire very hard. They drained the treasury of its accumulated wealth, and laid a heavy burden on the provinces. At the same time, his absence from the north

threw the administration into the hands of slack and inefficient officers who oppressed the people. The Jats, whose rising had disturbed the country in the first period of the reign, rose in revolt again, and their example was followed by some Rajput clans. The roads were infested with robbers, insecurity spread and trade and industry declined.

The old emperor, overwhelmed with difficulties, despaired of success, and worn out in mind and body retired to Ahmadnagar where he died in 1707.

Aurangzeb and the Hindus.—Aurangzeb held strict and narrow views on religion. For him all faiths besides his own were false, and he regarded it his duty to promote the true religion. Religion laid down for him rules, according to which the conduct of a ruler ought to be guided in his relations with those who followed the same religion, and with others who followed a different religion. Aurangzeb attempted to give effect to these rules so far as circumstances permitted. The measures taken by him sought to create a system of government which the people of India had not known for centuries. It divided the people into two classes: one which was regarded as the favoured class, and the other which was regarded as the tolerated class. This policy led to two evil results. Firstly, it identified the state with only one section of the Indian population, and, therefore, made the other section indifferent to the fate of the empire. Secondly, it demoralised the Hindus who served under Aurangzeb, because their service ceased to be based upon any grounds of high principles, but on considerations of personal advancement only. It was impossible to build a strong and permanent state on the basis of inequality, and in adopting these

measures Aurangzeb undid the work of Akbar, and postponed the creation of an Indian nation. But it must be remembered that the Hindus did not regard the disabilities imposed upon them as an adequate reason for a general revolt against the emperor. They did not make any protest against them, and never refused to fight on his behalf. In all the wars of Aurangzeb, whether they were waged against the Hindu sects or the Hindu tribes, Hindu commanders fought valiantly for their master. Rajput, Bundela, Maratha, and Sikh officers served against Rajput, Bundela, Maratha, Sikh and Satnami forces throughout Aurangzeb's reign. There was no general Hindu movement against his rule.

The people of those times regarded religion as a personal affair which had little to do with the public and political life of the individual. Thus, a Hindu who fought under a non-Hindu against a Hindu, or a Muslim who fought under a non-Muslim against a Muslim did not feel any shame. Nor did the Hindu and the Muslim possess any feeling of patriotism. The only bonds which they recognised were those of kinship and personal loyalty. The ties which bound them were those of blood relationship in the clan, and faithfulness to the salt of the master. And even these were often disregarded for personal gain.

Causes of Aurangzeb's Failure.—Aurangzeb's long reign of nearly half a century ended in failure. The empire rapidly grew weak and broke into pieces not long after his death. What were the causes which account for its decline? Aurangzeb possessed uncommon traits of character. He was brave in battle and cool in the face of danger. He lived a pure, simple and austere life. He was free from vice, was earnest and pious. His

devotion to duty and work was remarkable. His co-religionists regarded him as a living saint. It is true his sympathies were limited and his distrust of others was excessive, but on the whole, his character made him a highly efficient ruler.

According to some, his religious policy is responsible for his failure. In the main this is not correct. The Hindu risings were not successful, and they were not inspired by any common aims, whether religious or political. Aurangzeb suppressed them with Hindu help. The war against the Marathas undoubtedly strained the resources of the empire to the utmost. But the Maratha rising was not a national or religious but a tribal revolt. In its nature it differed little from the rising of the other tribes. The Rajputs, the Bundelas and the relations and kinsmen of Shivaji himself fought on behalf of Aurangzeb against Shivaji and his successors. Nor did the Marathas spare the Hindus from their attacks, or disdain to employ Muslims to fight under their banner.

No, the causes of Aurangzeb's failure were mainly economic and administrative—the ruin of agriculture, trade and crafts, and the inefficiency of the imperial service. The excessive exactions of the state impoverished the peasants, the decline of cultivation and luxurious living impoverished the noblemen, and extravagance, inefficiency, and continuous wars impoverished the government. The Mansabdars multiplied, but there were no jagirs to give them, and the jagirs which they obtained gave them no profits. The government had no money to repair even the forts. Besides the country was too vast, and the means of communication and travel too primitive to allow of the formation of a single economic and political unit. India was not yet ripe for

consolidation on the national scale, and even the unparalleled energy and industry of Aurangzeb could not overcome the tendencies which divided the people.

(g). The Sikhs and the Marathas

The Sikhs.—In the fifteenth century, contact with Islam produced a number of religious reformers who sought to remould the Hindu religion. Among them was Guru Nanak. During his life (1469-1538) he preached a religion which laid emphasis on the unity of God, on purity and devotion in worship and on moral life. He denounced the worship of images, the performance of outward rites, the pretensions of priests, the caste system and the ascetic way of living. He raised the moral character of the Hindus and justified the life of the world. His successors, Gurus Angad, Amardas and Ramdas, laid the foundations of the organisation of their followers. Gurus Amardas and Ramdas obtained the friendship of the Emperor Akbar, which greatly enhanced their prestige. The fifth Guru, Arjun (1582-1607), compiled the Sikh Holy Book, the *Adi Granth,* made Amritsar the holy city of the Sikhs, organised a system of collecting the income through agents known as *masnads,* and engaged in trade and traffic. His measures changed a religious brotherhood into a self-governing community. Guru Arjun's interference in Mughal politics by helping Khusrau led to his arrest and death.

Guru Hargovind changed still further the character of the Sikhs. He made them warlike by encouraging them to bear arms and to engage in military pursuits. He built a fort, assumed the title of *Sachcha Padshah,* and

held Darbars. At first he accepted office under Jahangir, but then turned against him and was confined in prison. After his release he retired into the hills, where he lived till his death in 1644. Guru Har Rai, his successor, was a friend of Dara. But he was a man of peace and he did not interfere in political matters.

On his death there was a contest for succession between Ram Rai and Har Kishan, sons of Har Rai. Ram Rai was the elder and lived at the court of Aurangzeb, but Har Kishan was favoured by the Sikhs. As Har Kishan died young, the Sikhs acknowledged Tegh Bahadur as their Guru. He joined the imperial forces and fought under the Mughal banner in Bengal and Assam in 1668. Afterwards he rebelled, was summoned to Delhi and executed in 1675. His son, Govind Singh, ascended the Gaddi, but for twenty years he lived in seclusion in the hills. He spent his time in study, meditation and preparation for his great task, which was to transform the Sikhs into a fellowship of the elect, the pure and the free (Khalsa). He declared himself to be the messenger of God who had come to declare a perfect faith, to extend virtue and to destroy evil. God was to be beheld by the eye of faith in the Khalsa. Every Sikh must accept initiation (*pahul*), and become one in the fellowship of equals. All social distinctions must be abolished. All should worship the One Invisible God, honour Nanak and the Gurus, revere *the Granth*, retain their hair unshorn, bear arms and call themselves Singhs.

Having, by his religious teachings, attained the object of forming a warlike and democratic community, Guru Govind turned his attention towards the establishment of a principality. He built several forts, organised an army divided into bands under his disciples, and

employed a body of Pathan horsemen. He tried to subdue the Rajas of the hill states, but his operations brought him into conflict with the commanders of the Mughal forces. Aurangzeb directed the provincial governors to proceed against him and he was reduced to great hardships. Aurangzeb summoned him to his court, and after some hesitation he proceeded to the Deccan. On the death of the emperor, Govind received a military command from Bahadur Shah to fight against the Marathas. But, while staying at Nander, he was killed by a Pathan in 1708. Govind died prematurely, but his work lived.

The Marathas.—The Marathas are an ancient Aryan tribe who settled in the Deccan. The country of the Marathas is known as Maharashtra. It is triangular in shape. Its base is the Arabian sea-coast from Daman to Karwar, the perpendicular side is formed by the line along the Tapti to Nagpur, and the hypotenuse by an irregular line which joins Nagpur to Karwar. It has three main divisions. The sea coast below the Sahyadri is known as the Konkan, the Sahyadri tract as the Mawal, and the eastern plains as the Doab. The Marathas are mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka, and they played an important part in Indian history, for the Satavahana, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Yadava kings were rulers in Maharashtra. The conquest of the Deccan by the Turks brought the Marathas under the rule of the kings of Delhi. But after the disruption of the Tughluq empire they passed under the Bahmani kingdom. About the end of the fifteenth century the Bahmani kingdom broke up into five Sultanates. The Sultans of Ahmadnagar governed the territory inhabited by the Marathas, and the Sultans of Bidar and Berar had also

Marathas among their subjects. About the beginning of the seventeenth century the Mughals appeared in the Deccan. The internal decay of the five Sultanates, and their mutual wars and wars against the Mughals, threw the whole country into confusion, and gave the Marathas an opportunity to acquire military power and political influence and at last to assert their independence.

The revival of the Maratha power was due to a number of causes. In the first place the movement of religious reform in the south, which was due to the Muslim impact, affected Maharashtra deeply. Pandharpur was the centre of this movement. Here was located a temple of Krishna (Vithoba), where the pious and saintly folk assembled year after year. Jnandeva, who was an outcaste Brahman, preached here the doctrine of Bhakti, which appealed to all classes whether low or high. Other saints, among whom a number belonged to low classes, spread the new faith. The result was that a strong movement for social reform sprang up which stirred the whole Maratha community. The characteristics of the reform were similar to those initiated by Kabir and Nanak. The religious movement stimulated the growth of a literature in Marathi, and further strengthened the feelings of Maratha unity.

Secondly, the Deccani kings and Sultans encouraged the revival. They fostered the Indian languages. Marathi became the court language in Ahmadnagar. Then, from the time of the first Muslim conquest many Maratha Sardars had remained in possession of their estates. Later, the Bahmanis began to employ them as captains and commandants. The Marathas became financial officers and clerks; and some of them rose to the post of Wazir. When the Mughals extended their sway in

the Deccan, some of them entered the Mughal service and obtained mansabs; others, however, remained in the service of the Deccani Sultans. The wars stimulated their ambitions.

The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of great stir and turmoil in the Deccan. The teachings of the Maratha saints had caused an awakening among the Marathas, and now Tukaram and Ramdas were exercising a powerful influence toward their social uplift. The wars of Jahangir and Shah Jahan against Ahmadnagar, the resistance of Malik Ambar and the final overthrow of the Nizam Shahis kept the country in a state of unrest. The Bhonsla family, which rose into prominence at this time, made an effective use of the moral revival and of the political confusion. Shahji Bhonsla, who was a petty officer of the Nizam Shahis, obtained the jagir of Poona and Supa as a reward for his services. He fought valiantly for his master from 1631 to 1636, but was unable to save Ahmadnagar from falling into the hands of the Mughals. Then he obtained office under the Bijapur government, and was appointed to govern the territories of Bijapur in the Karnatak. The insubordination of his son led to his imprisonment in 1648. He was later pardoned, and was sent to the Raichur Doab to reduce the insurgents there. While hunting, he fell from his horse and was killed in 1664.

Shahji's rise from obscurity to the position of the premier Hindu officer of Bijapur was due to his great ability. He was the first commander to utilise the military capacity of the Marathas and to show that properly led they were a match for the Mughal and Deccani troops. The rapidity of movement of the

Maratha horsemen, their frugal and simple ways, their endurance and daring, and their knowledge of the country gave them an immense advantage over the hosts that opposed them. Shahji, however, spent his life in supporting the cause of his Deccani masters. But his son realized that they had fallen upon evil days, and their governments were suffering from internal decay. He, therefore, had no scruples in striking a blow for power and the establishment of an independent Maratha kingdom.

Shivaji.—Shivaji was born in 1627. At the age of nine he and his mother were left by Shahji at Poona under the care of Dadaji Konddeva. Dadaji trained Shivaji in the military arts, and his mother filled his mind with stories of the heroes of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. He grew up in the company of the lads of Mawal. He led an adventurous life with these young men and obtained an intimate knowledge of the country. Fired with ambition, he gathered round him the Mawal youth, sons of the chiefs and of the peasants. They began to dream of power, wealth and dominion, despising the ordinary life of vassals and mercenaries of the Deccani Sultanates. In 1646, the Sultan of Bijapur fell seriously ill, the government was torn with the intrigues of its nobles, and its disruption appeared imminent. Shivaji took advantage of the opportunity, and in spite of Dadaji's entreaties and warnings, he captured the fort of Torna and the treasure it contained. The death of Dadaji in 1647 freed the hands of Shivaji and he began consolidating his authority. But the imprisonment of his father put a restraint upon his designs for a number of years.

In 1653, Aurangzeb came to the Deccan as Viceroy, and soon started planning the annexation of Golkonda and Bijapur. The hostility between the Mughals and the Deccanis gave Shivaji the opportunity to capture more forts and plunder the territory around. In 1657, Aurangzeb retired northwards, and Shivaji overran the Konkan. During the war of succession he further expanded his territories and organised them into a state.

The government of Bijapur was now thoroughly alarmed by his activities. They appointed Afzal Khan to subdue Shivaji. He marched to Wai and invited the Maratha chief to meet him. In the interview Afzal attacked Shivaji with his dagger, and the latter saved himself by piercing the bowels of Afzal with steel claws (*Vaghnakha*). Afzal's death was followed by the rout of his army (1659). For the next three years there was strenuous warfare between Shivaji and the Adil Shahis, who were now supported by the Mughals. In 1662, peace was made with Bijapur through the instrumentality of Shahji, and then the Marathas had only the Mughals to encounter.

Shaista Khan was the Mughal governor of the Deccan. He had forced Shivaji out of many of his forts, and in 1663 when he was staying in Poona Shivaji made a night attack on him. It was completely successful.* Many Mughal officers, including the governor's own son, were killed and Shaista was wounded. He was transferred to Bengal.

In 1664, Shivaji plundered Surat. It was time that serious efforts were made to put him down, so Aurangzeb appointed Raja Jai Singh, with a number of Muslim and Hindu officers, to proceed against him. Jai

Singh was completely successful, and he forced Shivaji to sue for peace. In 1665, the Treaty of Purandhar was signed. Shivaji surrendered a number of forts, and was allowed to retain only twelve provided he entered the Mughal service. Next year he visited Agra and attended the imperial court. But he was dissatisfied with the treatment. He was then confined and kept under watch. But he managed to escape to the Deccan. On reaching home he lived quietly and at peace with Aurangzeb, who granted a mansab and a jagir to Shambhuji, his son. Shivaji employed these years in making military preparations, and in 1670 declared war on the Mughals. The dissensions among the Mughal commanders made it easy for him to recapture the forts which he had lost, and to raid and plunder the Mughal dominions from Surat to Khandesh and Berar. He broke with the Bijapuris also, inflicted defeats upon their troops, raided Kanara, and annexed Baglana.

From 1674 onwards, the Mughals were kept busy by wars on the north-western frontier and in Rajputana, and paid little heed to the Deccan affairs. Shivaji assumed the title of Raja, and a grand coronation ceremony was held in 1674, in order to proclaim his independent position. He made peace with Bijapur and Golkonda. Freed from the threat of serious danger from the Mughals and the Deccanis, he led expeditions into the south in search of treasure. He annexed Kanara in 1675, and two years later conquered Karnatak and captured Jinji.

In 1678, war was renewed with the Mughals, who were much encouraged by the desertion of Shambhuji to their side, and they pressed their attacks with vigour. Shivaji replied by raiding into the Mughal territories, so

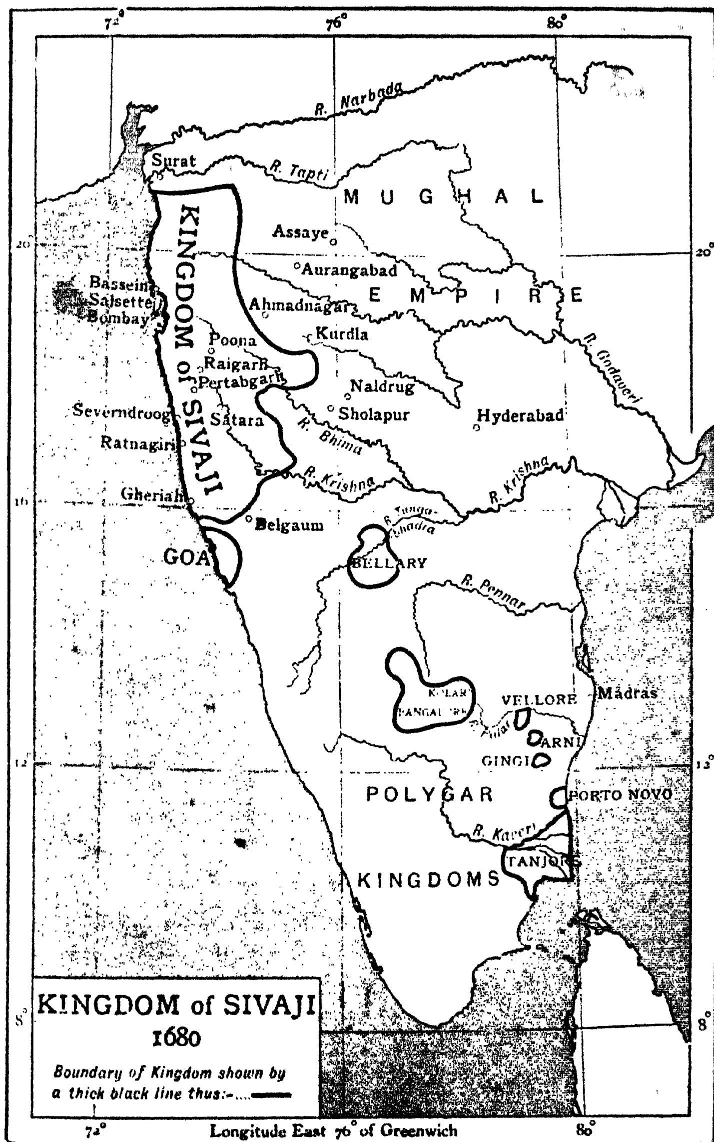
that they were unable to gain any considerable success. While the war was going on Shivaji fell ill, and died in 1680.

Early in his career Shivaji had become convinced of the need of a Maratha navy to protect the coasts and to carry on trade. His organisation of a naval force brought him into conflict with the Siddis of Janjira, the Mughals, the Portuguese and the English. In the engagements with these, the Maratha naval officers showed much capacity and daring, but did not achieve any great results.

Extent of the Kingdom.—Shivaji's kingdom included the country from Daman in the north to Karwar in the south. On the east it included the territory from Baglana to Kolhapur, and the districts of the Western Karnatak up to the Tungabhadra river. This region was known as Swaraj (own kingdom) of the Maratha state, and was divided into three provinces—the northern, the southern and the south-eastern; each was under a viceroy.

Portions of the Madras and Mysore country were also under his sway. Outside these limits he regarded the neighbouring country (Mughlai) as subject to *Mulkgiri* or plunder and ransom. If these regions desired to save themselves from his raids, they had to pay *chauth* (one-fourth of the revenue paid by the jagirdars to the state) and *sardeshmukhi* (one-tenth of the rent paid by the peasants).

The System of Administration.—Shivaji established the Maharashtra Padshahi, that is, a monarchical state of the Marathas. It was also designated as Hindvi Swarajya (or Hindus' own state), that is, a state which identified itself with the Hindu



72°
76°
80°
R. Narbada
Surat
R. Tapti
MUGHAL
EMPIRE
KINGDOM of SIVAJI
Assaye
Aurangabad
Ahmadnagar
Kurdla
Basseín
Salsette
Bombay
Poona
Raigarh
Pertabgarh
Naldrug
Sholapur
Hyderabad
R. Godaveri
Severndroog
Satara
R. Bhima
Ratnagiri
R. Krishna
Gheriah
Belgaum
R. Tunga-bhadra
GOA
BELLARY
R. Pennar
VELLORE
Madras
ARNI
GINGI
POLYGAR
PORTO NOVO
R. Kaveri
TANJORE
KINGDOMS
20°
12°
8°
KINGDOM of SIVAJI
1680
Boundary of Kingdom shown by
a thick black line thus:-....
Longitude East 76° of Greenwich
Emery Walker sc.

community of Maharashtra. Its ideal, therefore, was similar to that of Aurangzeb's state, with this difference that in the Mughal Emperor's case the favoured class was the Muslim community, but in the case of the Maratha kingdom it was the Maratha Hindus. Neither ruler had any repugnance to the employment of officers and soldiers of the other community. In both instances the form of government was monarchical, and the powers of the ruler were exercised autocratically. Shivaji had no assembly of the people to assist him or to advise him. The whole authority of government was concentrated in his hands. He appointed the officers, issued orders in matters of administration, conducted wars and concluded treaties of peace. In judicial matters all appeals lay with him, and even in social and religious affairs his final approval was necessary.

He had an administrative council composed of eight high ministers known as *Ashta Pradhan.** Its members were (1) the Peshwa or the prime minister, (2) the Majumdar or auditor, (3) the Waqia-navis or chronicler, (4) the Shuru-navis or secretary, (5) the Dabir or foreign secretary, (6) the Sarnaubat or commander-in-chief, (7) the Pundit Rao or head of the ecclesiastical department, and (8) the Nyayadhish or chief justice.

All ministers, except the last two, were required to perform military duties and command the armies. The officers' duties and functions were similar to those found in the Mughal and Bahmani kingdoms. In fact, the administration largely followed these models.

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* The Sanskrit names of the first six officers were: (1) Mukhya Pradhan; (2) Amatya; (3) Mantri; (4) Sachiva; (5) Sumanta; and (6) Senapati.

The Army.—The army consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery. The cavalry had two branches, *bargirs* and *sillahdars*. The first were equipped and mounted by the state, the second had to provide their equipment and horses themselves. The supreme commander was called Sarnaubat. Under him were commanders of five thousand and one thousand. Below them were Jumladars for every five Havaldars. The Havaldar was in charge of 25 troopers.

The infantry consisted of Mawals mainly, and was used for garrisoning forts and as militia. Its organisation was similar to that of the cavalry.

The artillery was inefficient, because it was dependent upon Europeans for the supply of guns and ammunition, and on foreigners for its personnel.

Each fort was placed under the joint command of three officers, and detailed instructions were laid down for the provision of stores and arms.

The appointments to all the arms were made after a careful personal scrutiny by Shivaji. The salary of officers and men was paid directly from the state treasury, and payments were not made by grants of jagirs. The policy of using the army to collect booty and treasure, by raiding the lands adjacent to Swaraj, was systematically followed. The army rested in camp during the rainy season, and went out on *Mulkgiri* expeditions for the rest of the year.

Shivaji maintained the strictest discipline in the army, and punished misconduct heavily. The force under his command was an efficient instrument of his power. The army was open to all Marathas, without distinction of caste and status; it was well organised and highly disciplined, it obeyed one command; its officers and men

lived a simple and frugal life, were hardy and brave and devoted to their master, whose genius inspired them with supreme confidence. They could move about swiftly because they were not encumbered with baggage. They avoided pitched battles, and carried out rapid movements, surprise attacks, skirmishing and harassment.

The Revenue Administration.—Shivaji followed mainly the principles of Akbar in his system of land revenue administration. The area of land under cultivation in each village was carefully surveyed. The fields were classified in accordance with their fertility, method of irrigation and nature of crop. The share of the government was fixed at two-fifth of the produce, and could be paid in cash or kind. The government made remissions of rent on account of famine or damage due to royal troops, and made advances to the peasantry for payment of debt, purchase of seeds, etc.

The officers of the government dealt directly with the villages, and set aside all intermediaries like jagirdars, zamindars, farmers of revenue, etc. The policy of the government was to encourage cultivation and to improve the condition of the cultivators.

Character and Achievement of Shivaji.—Shivaji was a great man. His personal life was pure, and his conduct regulated by high ideals of morality. He was intensely religious, very fond of listening to recitals of the sacred books, but he was no bigot. He paid reverence to Muslim and Hindu saints, respected their shrines and scriptures, and provided subsistence to their holy men.

He was a great leader. His bold and fearless character, his energetic and adventurous spirit, his disregard of personal danger, and his courage in

challenging the mighty attracted to him men who loved an independent and active life. He was a good judge of human character, and his selection of officers proved remarkably good.

He was a statesman of high order. He organised a highly efficient army and an administrative system which secured peace and welfare to the people. He avoided the mistakes of his contemporaries. He was an astute diplomat, and a practical-minded ruler in his relations with his neighbours.

He was a military genius. Not only did he create his military machine, but he used it with amazing success. He drew up the plans of his campaigns with the utmost care, and carried them out with a swiftness and assurance which struck his enemies with awe. His father first realised the value of the light Maratha cavalry, but he made it the victorious instrument of the Maratha state.

The Maharashtra Padshahi which he founded was, however, not an enduring structure. It concerned itself with the Maratha Hindu alone, and it treated the remaining people of India as aliens, whose only purpose was to supply the gold needed for the Maratha state. It did little for the abolition of social customs which retarded the progress of the peoples, and still less to encourage trade and industry, which provide the basis of a people's power. It did not foster institutions which develop habits of self-rule among the population. Within its own limits, and during Shivaji's life, however, its success was dazzling.

Shivaji's Successors, 1680-1712.—On Shivaji's death Shambhuji became Raja. He was a good soldier but no statesman. He wasted the treasure accumulated

by his father in useless expenditure, and he relaxed the discipline of the army. He took for his adviser a worthless man, Kavi Kulesh, which gave offence to the Marathas. The follies of the Raja gave an opportunity to Aurangzeb to settle the difficulties of the Deccan. He annexed the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and then attacked the Marathas. Shambhuji made no serious effort at resistance, and was himself captured in 1689 and put to death.

Shambhuji's son, Sahu, was now acknowledged ruler, but as he was a child, his uncle, Rajaram, became regent. Rajaram roused the enthusiasm of the Marathas and organised the Maratha bands to harass the Mughal army. But his heroic efforts were of little avail. The Mughals took the forts in the Konkan, and even Sahu fell into their hands. Rajaram then transferred the seat of government to Jinji in the south, leaving his able Maratha captains like Shanta Ji and Dhanna Ji to carry on the struggle with the Mughals. Aurangzeb saw that the only way to put an end to their resistance was to capture Jinji and destroy the Maratha state. But the generals whom he sent to besiege Jinji were either incapable or disloyal. The siege was prolonged for seven years and it drained the resources of the empire. Jinji fell in 1698, but in the meanwhile the Marathas had recovered many of their forts in the Konkan, and Rajaram returned to Satara.

The death of Rajaram in 1700 led to a disputed succession. But at last Tarabai, the widow of Rajaram, succeeded in obtaining recognition for her son, and in becoming regent herself. She conducted the war with great ability and vigour. During the next few years, while Aurangzeb patiently carried

on his policy of reducing the Maratha forts, the Marathas launched an offensive by raiding and plundering the Mughal provinces, and capturing and destroying the convoys which brought treasure and provisions to the Deccan. The Mughals thus suffered a double loss. The siege of the forts was a dull affair which cost a great deal of money, but the money which came from the north was liable to attack and seizure. Then the treachery and incompetence of the Mughal commanders allowed the Marathas to rob and plunder the provinces, and to recapture the forts taken after great exertion. These circumstances broke the heart of Aurangzeb who was now very old, and who knew that his sons were intriguing for power. In 1707, Bahadur Shah released Sahu from captivity, and his return to his home led to a civil war among the Marathas, which lasted till 1712 when Sahu triumphed over his rival.

The war with the Mughals, which lasted for over a quarter of a century, ended in the success of the Marathas and the exhaustion of the Mughal empire. But the war brought about a great change in the character and organisation of the Maratha state. The excellent principles which were laid down by Shivaji disappeared. The Maratha monarchy was gradually replaced by an imperial government with despotic tendencies. The system of jagirs was established. The army which was predominantly Maratha became a mixed force without the discipline and regulation of its founder. The civil and revenue administration suffered from the fact that the state had two masters—the Satara Raja, who was a descendant of Shivaji and was the nominal head of the state, and the Peshwa, who became the real ruler. The officers were becoming independent jagirdars, and

intermediaries appeared between the state and the subjects.

(h). The Advent of the Europeans

The Portuguese.—Until the fifteenth century Indians had held intercourse with the western world by land routes, which passed through the gates on the north-western mountains. The missionaries of Indian religions, the caravans of merchants and the troops of soldiers went through these passes to the countries beyond. Settlers and invaders entered India through them. But in the fifteenth century the bold navigators of Europe discovered the all-sea route from the continent of Europe to India and the East.

The Portuguese were the first people in Europe who undertook the quest of the sea route to India.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, a native of Portugal, sailed round Africa and was piloted across the sea from the coast of East Africa to India by an Indian sailor. The Portuguese came to India partly for trade—to secure spices—and partly because they were hostile to the Muslims and desired to strike a blow at them, for the Arabs then held the monopoly of trade in Indian seas.

The success of the Portuguese against the Arabs was rapid. Their viceroy, Almeida, established forts on the coast to protect the Portuguese factories, and defeated the Muslim fleets. His successor, Albuquerque, made the Portuguese masters of the coast from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to Malacca and the Spice Islands. He captured Goa in 1510 and made it the capital of their dominion. The Portuguese dominated the waters of the east for nearly a century, but in 1580 the crowns of



SHAH JAHAN RECEIVING A EUROPEAN EMBASSY.

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Portugal and Spain were united, and they lost their supremacy.

The Dutch.—After their union with Spain the Portuguese did not long enjoy the monopoly of the eastern trade. The Dutch, who were the enemies of Spain, sent their ships to the east. But although they made a number of settlements in India, their attention was mainly confined to the eastern islands where spices were produced. They turned the Portuguese out from Malacca and the islands. But from the middle of the seventeenth century they had to fight a number of wars against England and France, which weakened them and obliged them to give up most of their factories in India.

The English.—The English defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, and soon their ships began to visit the Indian coast. In 1600, some English merchants formed the East India Company for trade with India, and Queen Elizabeth granted it a charter. In 1608 Captain Hawkins landed at Surat and came to Agra to obtain a *farman* from the Emperor Jahangir for establishing a factory. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador from James I to Jahangir. As a result of his efforts, Surat became the centre of English trade in the east. In 1640 Fort St. George was built and Madras founded on land acquired from a Hindu Raja, and in 1651 a factory was established at Hughli in Bengal. Bombay was acquired in 1668.

In 1664 and 1670 Shivaji raided Surat. The wars of the Deccan, which absorbed the energies of the Mughal Empire began soon after. The disorder which was produced by these wars led the English to entertain schemes of establishing political power in India. In 1686 they made

an open rupture with the governor of Bengal, but they were defeated and driven out of the province. In 1690 they made humble submission and were allowed to return. On the piece of land which was granted to them they founded the city of Calcutta. Thus the English obtained a foothold at many points on the Indian sea coast.

The East India Company had a chequered career in England. In the seventeenth century it passed through many difficulties. The establishment of a rival company in 1698 led to a struggle between the two for securing the monopoly of the Indian trade. After ten years of quarrel their disputes were settled, and the two companies were united in 1708. With unity came the opportunity for expansion and power.

The French.—The early efforts of the French to found companies for the Indian trade were not successful. But in 1664, during the reign of Louis XIV, the grand monarch of France, his minister Colbert created the French Company of the East. In 1674 Pondicherry was founded, and soon after a settlement was made at Chandernagar. After a set-back the company was reconstituted in 1719.

Other Companies.—Other European nations also cast longing eyes on the rich commerce of the east, and made efforts to share its profits. But their difficulties in Europe prevented them from pursuing their designs seriously. Thus, in the beginning of the eighteenth century the English and the French were the only two European nations which were serious rivals on the mainland of India. Both desired profit and wealth, and were prepared to acquire them with all the means available to them. The rapid decline of the Mughal Empire, which

set in after the death of Aurangzeb, gave them the needed opportunity.

The advent of the Europeans in India brought the country into contact with nations which were altogether different from the peoples of India in manners, customs, institutions, ways of thinking and living. So far, India had known only the Asiatic peoples, some of whom came here and became completely merged into our populations, such as the Scythians and the Huns, or others who retained their distinctness in religion, but created a culture and civilisation which was common to them and to the people of India, such as the Muslim Turks. Both these became assimilated because they made India their home. They lived and laboured here, their children were born and brought up here, and their bodies found their last resting place in the soil of this country. They had adopted India as their own country, for in departing from their native lands they had left them for ever.

Not so the Europeans. For them India became a land of toil and service, a land to which they came for profit and for rule, but not for permanent settlement and residence. Their business concerns and governments might continue, but the individuals were themselves merely birds of passage. They profoundly influenced the life and civilisation of India, but they did not become Indians themselves.

It is necessary to understand the ways of the newcomers, for with the impact of their civilisation started the great change which closed the Middle Age of our history. The countries of Europe were inhabited by free and united nations. Each nation formed a single community whose members were united by common

interests and purposes. The ties which bound a people into a community, for whose sake the members were prepared to lay down even their lives, were not those of religion or loyalty to a tribal and hereditary chief, as was the case in India, but those of patriotism or love of a common motherland. Each nation had its own government whose authority was derived from the will of the citizens. The citizens were members of an independent nation and not slaves of a despot.

The citizens were free to think and free to act. They obeyed the laws in the making of which they had a share, and they obeyed the authority whose power was derived from them. Their minds were not shackled by the chains of tradition, custom and religion. They could freely discuss and criticise their institutions—social, religious, and political, and reform and remould them. They were not deterred by sacred books or priests from seeking the truth about God, man or nature. They had ceased to be ruled by dogmas and external authorities. They were free in their conduct, and free in their mind. Therefore, their societies were free and progressive. In the atmosphere of freedom, arts and sciences, trade and industry flourished, and wealth and power grew.

B. The Decline of the Mughal Empire, and the Establishment of British Dominion, 1707—1818

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by the rapid decline of the Mughal Empire. As the authority of the emperor became weak, the governors set up independent principalities in the provinces. The Marathas extended their dominion and brought great tracts of India under

their control. Ultimately, even the Mughal Empire came under their influence. The Sikhs and the Jats plundered the country and defied the imperial authority. While the Indian rulers were engaged in mutual warfare, the foreigners appeared upon the scene and took advantage of these distractions to acquire power. The invaders from the north-west came only for loot and not for permanent occupation. The European nations, however, interested themselves in the politics of the warring princes in order to establish their dominion. Among these, the French and the British were the two chief rivals. The British, who won in the struggle against the French, came into conflict with the Indian princes, but overcame their resistance by the close of the period.

The history of the period is divided into three parts. In the first part, from 1707 to 1748, the Marathas attained ascendancy in India. In the second, from 1748-72, their advance received a definite check, and the British overcame their rivals the French, and acquired dominion in the Bengal and Madras presidencies. In the third, from 1772 to 1818, the British faced and overcame the rivalry of the Marathas, and put an end to the French schemes in India.

(a). The First Phase, 1707-48

(i). The Later Mughals, 1707-48

The death of Aurangzeb led to a fight between his sons for the throne. Bahadur Shah defeated all his brothers and became the emperor. During his short reign he had to fight a combination of the Rajput states of Mewar, Marwar and Amber. The three joined

together to defy the emperor, but by a mixed policy of force and conciliation the Rajput rising was quelled.

The Rajput troubles were scarcely over when the emperor had to face the rising of the Sikhs. Since the death of Guru Govind Singh, the Sikhs had accepted Banda as their leader. He collected an army in the hills near Sarhind, and attacked and defeated the Mughal governor. Sarhind fell into his hands, and soon the surrounding tracts were mastered. On hearing the news of the outbreak the emperor set out to crush the rebels. The Sikh leader had fortified Lohgarh in the hills, and had taken refuge there. The imperialists captured the fort, but Banda escaped in 1710. Desultory fighting continued for some time, and the slackness of the officers permitted Banda to reoccupy Lohgarh.

Towards the Marathas the emperor employed a policy which secured the empire from their depredations during his reign. He released Sahu from captivity on the condition that he recognised the suzerainty of the Mughals, but he permitted him to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The release of Sahu led to dissensions among the Marathas, which prevented them from attacking the Mughal territories.

In 1712 Bahadur Shah died, and the usual contest for the empire began among his sons. The eldest, Jahandar Shah, defeated his brothers and ascended the throne. He was a thoroughly worthless ruler who was only interested in sensual pleasures and shameless revelry. The nobles of the court and officials followed his pernicious example, and disorder spread in the empire.

Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azim-ush Shan, the younger brother of Jahandar Shah, was in charge of Bengal during

Bahadur Shah's reign. On hearing of his father's death during the war of succession, he proclaimed himself emperor at Patna. Abdullah Khan and his brother, Husain Ali Khan, the leaders of the Barha Sayyids, were then deputy governors of Allahabad and Patna. They espoused the cause of Farrukhsiyar. Other officers and zamindars joined him and he marched to Allahabad. The forces of Jahandar were defeated at Khajwa, and the advance was continued till Farrukhsiyar crossed the river Jumna without opposition, and gave battle to the forces of Jahandar at Agra. Jahandar was defeated and fled to Delhi, but his chief ministers deserted him and he was put to death (1713); nor were the chief ministers spared.

Farrukhsiyar now became the emperor, and he rewarded Abdullah by appointing him chief minister and his brother, Husain Ali, commander-in-chief of the army. Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk was placed in the supreme control of the Deccan, with Aurangabad as his headquarters.

Farrukhsiyar's reign lasted from 1713 to 1719. It was distracted by the risings of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats. Raja Ajit Singh, Rathor of Marwar, rebelled, but Husain Ali compelled him to make peace. Then Banda, who was defying the Mughal commanders from the forts of Sadhaura and Lohgarh, was driven back into the hills. From time to time he came out and ravaged the Punjab. At last, in 1715, a large force surrounded Gurdaspur where he was staying. The town was starved into surrender after several months. Banda and his men were captured and executed with great cruelty.

The Jats, who lived in the country south of the

Jumna between Delhi and Agra, were a bold and turbulent people. They had given a lot of trouble in the reign of Aurangzeb. Their leader, Churaman, had accepted service under Bahadur Shah. He fought under the Mughal flag against the Rajputs and the Sikhs. Farrukhsiyar gave him charge of the king's highway, from Delhi to the crossing of the Chambal. But he abused his powers and usurped much territory. Raja Jai Singh Sawai was sent to punish him. He besieged the Jat fort but could not reduce it. Churaman, however, made peace in 1718.

Farrukhsiyar had gained his throne with the help of the Sayyid brothers. But soon after, quarrels broke out between them and the emperor. The court consisted of noblemen belonging to a number of different tribes. Some were foreigners and others Hindustanis. Among the foreigners the nobles belonging to the Turani and Irani tribes were the most important. The Barha Sayyids were Hindustanis, for their ancestors had settled in the country between Meerut and Saharanpur several generations before. The Turanis and others were jealous of their influence, and they poisoned the ears of the emperor.

Open quarrels broke out. But the first quarrel ended in the defeat of the Turanis. As a result, Nizam-ul-Mulk, their leader, was deprived of his governorship of the Deccan, and Husain Ali was appointed in his place. But the emperor was not reconciled to the Sayyids, and he began to plot against them. These dissensions led to the disorganisation of the administration. Husain Ali Khan, finding that he and his brother were in imminent danger of losing their power, marched from the Deccan to Delhi, accompanied by the

Maratha forces. Before leaving the Deccan he had entered into a compact with the Marathas and promised to obtain for them the emperor's *farman* for the collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. Before Husain Ali reached Delhi most of the nobles had turned against the emperor because of his weakness and vacillation. The Sayyid brothers then made themselves masters of the palace and the fort. They deposed Farrukhsiyar and raised Rafi-ud-Darjat, son of Rafi-ush-Shan, a brother of Jahandar, to the throne, and then they put Farrukhsiyar to death. Rafi-ud-Darjat remained on the throne only for a few months. Then his elder brother, Rafi-ud-Daulah, was raised to the throne. But he, too, ruled for a short time only, as he fell ill and died. Then Muhammad Shah, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was made emperor in 1719. During these short reigns the Marathas obtained the imperial grant for the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan.

The ascendancy of the Sayyid brothers was resented by the other nobles. The first to declare open hostility was Chhabila Ram, the governor of Allahabad, and his nephew, Giridhar Bahadur, but Chhabila Ram died, and Giridhar Bahadur was conciliated. Then Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had meanwhile been appointed the governor of Malwa, fled to the Deccan and occupied Asirgarh, Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Sayyids were alarmed, and Husain Ali, taking the emperor with him, marched towards the Deccan. On the march a Mughal officer murdered Husain Ali, and the emperor returned to Agra. Abdullah, who offered resistance, was overpowered and put to death (1720). The two brothers enjoyed the highest power for nearly

eight years, and then the hostility of the emperor and the nobles led to their downfall and destruction.

Muhammad Shah, 1720-48.—On the fall of the Sayyids, Nizam-ul-Mulk became the chief minister. He desired to reform the administration and introduce strict decorum and proper procedure in the court. But the king was young, frivolous and under the influence of worthless men, and all efforts of the Nizam were unavailing. The nobles quarrelled among themselves and the affairs of the state were neglected. The Nizam became disgusted and left Delhi. He retired to the Deccan in 1724. The attempt of the emperor to supersede him failed, and the Nizam now became virtually an independent ruler.

Early in the reign the Rohillas, who were Afghans of the country of Roh and had settled in Katehar (Sambhal and Moradabad districts), rose into prominence. They set aside the imperial administration, and under Ali Muhammad Khan they established a semi-independent principality (after 1740).

The Jats also raised their head in rebellion, but quarrels among the sons of Churaman made it easy for Sawai Jai Singh to capture their fortresses (1722).

The Marathas, taking advantage of the growing weakness of the empire and the dissensions among the Mughal nobility, overran the Mughal provinces. They made raids in Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Bengal.

By 1739 the Mughal Empire had reached a low ebb. The treasures accumulated by the great emperors had been squandered during the civil wars, the administration had fallen into confusion and the revenues were realized with difficulty. The salaries of officers were in

arrears, and their loyalty had been undermined by frequent changes of the rulers.

The contests of the rival parties of noblemen, and the Mughal campaigns against the Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats and Marathas had destroyed the old nobility. The efficiency of the army and the tradition of devotion and bravery of the commanders were lost. From the emperor downwards the whole governing class had become morally degraded. Every one had begun to think of his own security and interest, and few cared for the empire.

In this situation a blow fell upon the empire which shook it to its very foundations. Nadir Shah, who had delivered Persia from the rule of the Afghans, became king in 1736. He captured Kandahar in 1738, and requested Muhammad Shah to hand over to him the enemies who had fled into the Mughal territory. The Mughal Emperor failed to comply with the request, and Nadir Shah invaded India. The Mughal government was utterly incompetent and had completely neglected the affairs of the distant province of Kabul. Both Afghanistan and the Punjab were left without any provision for defence, and the invader found the gates of India unprotected. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Nadir marched rapidly across the north-west, capturing Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore on his way to Delhi. The Mughal Emperor attempted to resist the advance of the invader at the old field of battle at Karnal. The attempt ended in the ignominious failure of the Indians, because they were badly led and ill prepared for war. The Persians possessed better weapons, and their commander was a general of consummate ability. While the Persians were united in their aim, the Indians

were divided among themselves, and their officers were jealous of one another and failed to stand together even in the face of a ruthless enemy.

After the victory Nadir Shah entered Delhi accompanied by Muhammad Shah as his prisoner. The people of Delhi passed through a most terrible time. For the misdeeds of the hooligans who killed some Persian soldiers, the city was given over to plunder and massacre. A huge indemnity was extracted. Then the invader, investing Muhammad Shah with the crown, left Delhi and returned to his country. The provinces of the empire west of the Indus were ceded to Persia.

During the years that followed the departure of Nadir Shah, the dismemberment of the empire proceeded apace. The Punjab became a prey to the depredations of the Sikhs and the Afghans, and the southern and western provinces were occupied by the Marathas who raided the provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Saadat Ali Khan, the governor of Oudh, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah, the governor of the Deccan, became practically independent.

(ii). The Marathas, 1707-48

Sahu was released from the captivity of the Mughals on condition that he would recognise the Mughal sovereignty. But the Mughal Emperor, on his part, recognised the right of the Marathas to receive the *chauth* of the provinces of the Deccan, although its collection and payment was entrusted to the Mughal governor. The Marathas were thus deprived of any excuse to invade and levy tribute in the Mughal territories, and their relations with the empire were established on a new basis.

So far as the internal affairs of the Marathas were concerned, the death of Aurangzeb had removed for ever any danger to their independence. But Sahu's authority was not recognised by all parties among the Marathas, and a rival Raja was set up at Kolhapur and this prevented the establishment of a strong government. Again, Sahu was an ease-loving king, and he allowed the power of the state to slip from his hands into that of the Peshwa.

The founder of the hereditary authority of the Peshwa was Balaji Vishwanath, a Konkani Brahman. He made Poona his headquarters, and put an end to the confusion in Maharashtra. He suppressed robbery, restored village cultivation and put an end to the farming of revenue. In 1717 he entered into an agreement with Sayyid Husain Ali, the governor of the Deccan, by which the Mughals ceded the lawful mastery of the dominions of Shivaji to the Maratha government, and recognised their right to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan and the southern states in return for tribute and service. This agreement was confirmed by Muhammad Shah in 1719.

Balaji elaborated a scheme for the realization of these dues. He divided the Deccan provinces outside Maharashtra into districts. Each district was placed in charge of a Maratha chief who collected its dues. The chief thus acquired a special interest in bringing the locality under his complete control. But to maintain unity among the chiefs, villages were assigned to several of them in the same locality, while every chief had also assignments in the Maratha territories. The scale of the assessments of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were kept high so as to make the districts subservient to the Marathas. Thus the collection of dues served two objects. In the

first place, it enhanced the income of the Maratha government, and, secondly, it brought the Mughal provinces under the grasp of the Marathas, and provided the great Maratha chiefs opportunities of conquest.

Balaji died in 1720. His son, Baji Rao I, who succeeded his father as Peshwa, was a man of great energy and unbounded ambitions. He was a resolute warrior, a strong administrator and a profound statesman. He set before himself the two aims of overrunning the Mughal provinces and of thwarting the schemes of the Nizam in the Deccan.

In 1724 he invaded Malwa and appointed Maratha agents there. Then he turned to the Nizam and forced him to recognise Sahu's claims on the Deccan and to pay the arrears of dues (1728). The Nizam set up the Maratha officer operating in Gujarat against the Peshwa. But Baji Rao promptly proceeded against him and defeated him (1731). Gujarat was placed in charge of Pilaji Gaikwad. At last the Nizam sought peace with the Marathas. He desired to set up an independent principality in the Deccan, and, therefore, he turned the attention of the Marathas away from the Deccan to the Mughal dominions.

Baji Rao's agents had overpowered Giridhar Bahadur, the governor of Malwa, in 1724, and he assumed the government of the province in 1734. Part of Bundelkhand was also obtained, and Berar was occupied about this time. Two years later, the Peshwa led an incursion into the heart of the Mughal territory in the Doab and round Agra and Delhi. The Nizam, to whom the emperor appealed for help, arrived in the north but he was obliged to make a treaty at Bhopal in 1737. By this treaty the territory including the province of Malwa

and the region between the Chambal and the Narbada were ceded to the Marathas. The Peshwa then attacked the Nizam's dominion but gained no success. An expedition was sent to the Karnatak, which levied contributions there. Another Maratha officer captured Bassein from the Portuguese.

In 1740 Baji Rao died, and his son, Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded to the office. He continued the policy of his father. Two Maratha officers, Raghoji Bhonsla and Bhaskar Pandit, made repeated raids into Bengal, seized Orissa and Cuttack and attacked Murshidabad (1742-45). Another Maratha chief, Raghunath Rao, forced the Rajputs and the Jats to pay tribute, and Sindhia invaded Rohilkhand and Oudh. These expeditions and conquests brought about a great change in the character of Maratha rule.

(iii). The English East India Company, 1707-48

The affairs of the United East India Company flourished greatly during this period. Their trade increased and they earned high profits. But the import of Indian-made cotton and silk cloth into England led to an agitation which resulted in the passing of laws forbidding their use in England.

In India the Company sent an ambassador to Delhi in 1714, who secured from Farrukhsiyar the right of trade, free of duties and customs, in the provinces of Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan. As a result their settlements grew in number and importance, and their commerce in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay steadily developed. Between 1740 and 1748 the English Company was drawn into the politics of the Karnatak chiefs. The rivalry between the Nizam and the Marathas created a

state of uncertainty in the south, and Dost Ali, the deputy governor of the Karnatak, sought to make himself independent. His efforts proved futile, and on his death there appeared two rival Nawabs of Arcot—(1) Anwaruddin, who was appointed by the Nizam on the death of Dost Ali, and (2) Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali. In 1748 the death of the old Nizam-ul-Mulk led similarly to the rivalry for succession between his son, Nasir Jang, and his grandson, Muzaffar Jang. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang formed a compact in order to realize their aims, and they sought the help of the French. Anwaruddin and Nasir Jang naturally turned to the English for assistance in maintaining their position.

The First Karnatak War.—Thus, the English and the French became involved in war; but in the first war the English had the worse luck, for their fleet did not render them good service, and when La Bourdonnais arrived before Madras in 1746, they surrendered the town. They were, however, able to hold Fort St. David against the French attacks. In 1748 Madras was restored by the French on the conclusion of peace between the two nations.

(iv). The French East India Company, 1709-48

The reconstituted French Company had a prosperous time. Its governors were men of energy who made settlements at many places on the Indian coast, *e.g.*, Masulipatam, Calicut and Mahè. One of them, Dumas (1735-41), who ruled over all the French settlements in India, took advantage of the disturbed condition of Southern India to interfere in political affairs. He helped the Raja of Tanjore in the war of succession and

obtained Karikal from him. He also gave refuge to the family of Dost Ali, Nawab of the Karnatak, from the pursuit of the Marathas in 1740, and received a Mansab from the Mughal Emperor. In 1741, Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry. He determined to adopt the policy of Dumas, and by taking sides in the wars of the Indian princes, to make the French dominant in India. The Karnatak offered a unique opportunity for the realization of these aims, for the Nawabs of the Karnatak, who were the deputies of the Nizam, were desirous of becoming independent and of extending their territory.

While the situation was distracted in the south of India, war broke out between England and France in Europe in 1744. Dupleix made use of this state of confusion. He invited the French fleet from Mauritius, under La Bourdonnais, and made an attack upon Madras which fell into his hands in 1746. The English appealed to Nawab Anwaruddin for help. He sent his troops to restore Madras to the English, but the French defeated and scattered them. This was the first serious encounter between the disciplined troops of the West equipped with guns and artillery, and the untrained Indian cavalry fighting with old weapons, and it decisively proved the inferiority of the latter.

The French were, however, unable to retain Madras, for the war in Europe came to an end in 1748, and they had to give it back to the English.

(b). The Second Phase, 1748-72

(i). The Successors of Muhammad Shah, 1748-72

Before the death of Muhammad Shah, the Mughals gained one last victory. Ahmad Shah Abdali,

who had made himself master of Kandahar and Kabul after the death of Nadir Shah, invaded India. The Mughal forces gave the Afghans battle, defeated them and drove them out of India. This last triumph of the army, however, did little to restore the power of the emperor. Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, who succeeded to the throne remained a puppet in the hands of his ministers, among whom bitter party strife was raging. The Irani party was led by Safdar Jang, the nephew of Saadat Khan, who was the governor of Oudh, and the Turani party was led by Shahabuddin, the grandson of the Nizam-ul-Mulk. Both parties sought the help of the Marathas. Safdar Jang was the first to obtain power. He came into conflict with the Afghans of the Doab, whom he subjugated with the assistance of Holkar and Sindhia. When he lost the king's favour he withdrew to Oudh, and Shahabuddin became the all-powerful Wazir. He blinded the poor emperor and deposed him in 1754.

He, then, raised Alamgir II, son of Jahandar Shah, to the throne. During his feeble rule the plight of the kingdom became worse. Lahore had already passed into Ahmad Shah Abdali's hands. He invaded India again in 1756, entered Delhi and proclaimed himself king. Then he advanced on Mathura and Agra, but the outbreak of pestilence in the army obliged him to return to his country in 1757. He left his son in the Punjab as viceroy and appointed Najib-ud-Daulah, the Pathan chief, as the Wazir of the Empire. On the departure of Ahmad Shah, Shahabuddin invited the Marathas to his assistance, and with their help recovered Delhi and his office. The Marathas elated with this success entered the Punjab,

and drove out Abdali's officers from Lahore. They also sent forces against Najib-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah, the successor of Safdar Jang. In 1759 Shahabuddin perpetrated another of his hideous crimes. He put to death Emperor Alamgir II, and placed another Mughal prince on the throne. Prince Shah Alam, the heir apparent, had already taken



THE DIWANI OF BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.
THE EMPEROR SHAH ALAM DELIVERING TO LORD CLIVE THE FORMAL GRANT.

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refuge with the governor of Oudh in order to escape from his hostility.

These proceedings roused the hostility of the Afghan and the Irani nobles against Shahabuddin and his allies, the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali, on receiving the news of these occurrences, entered into a combination with these nobles and marched at the head of a large army

to settle affairs with the Marathas. He drove them out of Lahore and advanced upon Delhi. The Marathas collected a vast army to resist the invader, marched to Panipat and encamped there. In 1761, the great battle was fought in which Ahmad Shah completely defeated the Marathas, and entered Delhi.

He recognised Shah Alam as emperor, but Shah Alam was engaged in warfare with the English in the east, and therefore Prince Jawan Bakht ruled as his deputy. Shuja-ud-Daulah was appointed Wazir and Najib-ud-Daulah, commander-in-chief. The Maratha agents were driven out of the Doab.

Shah Alam, who had fled to Oudh because of Shahabuddin's violence, joined the confederacy of Shuja-ud-Daulah and Mir Kasim against the English, but in 1764 he sustained a defeat at the battle of Buxar. He now became a dependent upon the English, who allotted to him the districts of Allahabad and Kara in return for the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Shah Alam remained in Allahabad till 1771. He had little hopes of an immediate restoration, for though the Marathas had been beaten, the Jats were dominating the country round Agra and Delhi. At length Najib-ud-Daulah defeated them and saved Delhi from falling into their hands.

Meanwhile the Marathas, who had recovered from the defeat of Panipat, reappeared in the north. In 1769 their army crossed the Chambal. They exacted tribute from the Rajputs and the Jats, and entered into an agreement with Najib-ud-Daulah. Then, they overran the Doab, captured the strongholds of the Rohillas and pressed upon Oudh. Shah Alam entered into negotiations with them, and leaving the protection of the English

returned to Delhi in 1771 in the company of Mahadji Sindhia. Here he found that his position as emperor was exceedingly irksome because of the power of the Marathas, who were now virtual masters of Delhi and its neighbourhood. He tried to shake them off, but his efforts proved unavailing, and he was obliged to accept their terms by which the Peshwa was recognised the commander-in-chief of the Mughal empire.

(ii). The Marathas, 1748-72

Balaji Baji Rao.—Raja Sahu died in 1748. He had reigned at Satara for nearly forty years. But during these years his own authority was nominal The Peshwa, who was the chief minister in the council of the eight Pradhans established by Shivaji, was the real ruler of Maharashtra. The Peshwa's office was held by Brahmans in hereditary succession. The other Maratha ministers and chiefs were jealous of his ascendancy. The first two Peshwas had maintained their position by their extraordinary abilities. Balaji Baji Rao, however, met with opposition when he assumed office. Of the important Maratha leaders Holkar and Sindhia supported him, but the Pratinidhi, the Gaikwad, and Bhonsla opposed him. It was possible for them to weaken the Peshwa's authority because the Raja of Satara was still regarded as the head of the state, and all commands and orders were issued in his name.

On Sahu's death without an heir, the question of succession became a matter of great importance. Balaji Baji Rao obtained from the dying Raja a written order which conferred on him and his family the post

of hereditary first minister and which empowered him "to manage the whole government of the Maratha empire on condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name and keeping up the dignity of the house of Shivaji, through the grandson of Tarabai and his descendants." This deed made the Peshwa definitely supreme, and from this time Poona became the real centre of Maratha power. The state was converted from a monarchy to a confederacy of chiefs, with the Peshwa as a permanent and hereditary president.

Balaji seated Ramraja, Tarabai's grandson, on the throne of Satara and took the conduct of the administration in his hands. He confirmed the jagirs of the great chiefs—Bhonsla, Gaikwad, Sindhia and Holkar, punished his rivals and appointed his own ministers and commanders. In this manner he consolidated the government. These measures were opportune, because the deaths of Muhammad Shah, the emperor, and Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 had thrown the empire and the Deccan into turmoil.

Ascendancy of the Marathas in the North.—The factions of the parties at the Mughal court gave Balaji the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the empire. Holkar and Sindhia supported Safdar Jang in subduing the Rohillas, and for their services they obtained the right to levy contributions in the Doab. When Safdar Jang fell into disfavour, they assisted Shahabuddin to gain power. Shahabuddin, who became Wazir, was entirely dependent upon them, and so the Marathas became supreme in Delhi. Raghunath Rao, brother of the Peshwa, proceeded with the Wazir to the Punjab and drove out the Abdali officers from Lahore (1758).

Holkar, Sindhia and other Maratha officers invaded the Doab and Rohilkhand.

Wars in the Deccan.—In the Deccan the only rival of the Marathas was the Nizam. His death in 1748 opened out an opportunity of gaining mastery over the whole peninsula, for the inevitable war of succession divided the heirs of the Nizam. Nasir Jang, the second son of the Nizam, who claimed the viceroyalty of the Deccan, was opposed by Muzaffar Jang, the grandson of the Nizam. Nasir Jang was killed in an expedition in the Karnatak, and Muzaffar became the ruler of the Deccan with the support of the French. He, too, was murdered, and Salabat Jang was then raised to the viceroyalty by the French (1751). The Peshwa supported Ghaziuddin, the eldest son of the Nizam. The struggle between the two was memorable. The French and the Marathas performed great deeds of valour, but in the end Salabat had to make peace. His rival was removed by poison, and Salabat now ruled the Deccan with the help of the French under Bussy. The Marathas were thus prevented from the conquest of the Deccan by the intervention of the French, but they acquired the whole country west of Berar from the Tapti to the Godavari.

In 1754 Balaji conducted an expedition against Mysore, and collected a large booty. During the southern campaign of the next year he annexed Belgaum, Sholapur and Hubli.

In 1758 Bussy was recalled from Hyderabad and the Marathas again had an opportunity of humiliating the Nizam. Sadashiva, the nephew of Baji Rao Peshwa, was sent on an expedition against the Nizam. He captured Ahmadnagar and

inflicted a decisive defeat upon him at Udgir. Salabat was forced to cede the provinces of Bijapur, Aurangabad and part of Bidar, with the fortresses of Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, and Burhanpur to the Marathas (1760). While these events were happening in the Deccan, the Maratha chiefs annexed Orissa, Cuttack and Gujarat, levied contribution on the Rajputs and reduced ports on the coasts.

Thus, by 1760, the Marathas had acquired a position of dominance over India. From the banks of the Indus to the Coleroon, and from the Rann of Cutch to Cuttack, the Maratha arms were supreme, and the Mughal emperor was a puppet in their hands. The Nizam's dominion was confined within narrow limits and was threatened with total extinction. The pride of the Rajput, the Rohilla and the Jat had been humbled.

The Battle of Panipat.—The growth of the Maratha influence gave offence to the Afghan and Persian nobility of the north, and when they drove Abdali's viceroy from Lahore his fury knew no bounds. He entered into a league with Najib-ud-Daulah, the leader of the Afghan chiefs, and Shuja-ud-Daulah, of the Irani party, and marched into India at the head of a large force. The Peshwa appointed Sadashiva Rao Bhao as commander-in-chief of the army, and sent with him his own son, Vishwas Rao, as the nominal leader, to oppose the invader. Under him was a contingent of artillery and disciplined infantry led by Ibrahim Khan Gardee. The Maratha chiefs like Holkar, Sindhia, Gaikwad, and others were ordered to accompany him. Many Rajput chieftains, and Surajmal, the Jat chief, joined the Maratha army. Unfortunately the commander-in-chief was vain and arrogant. He

undertook the expedition with a light heart and paid little heed to the advice of the experienced commanders like Holkar and Surajmal. Many of the officers felt that it was better that " this Brahman should once meet with a defeat."

As a result of mutual jealousies and suspicions, the Marathas did not present a strong and united front to their enemies. The Jats and the Rajputs withdrew in disgust, and Holkar's support was not whole-hearted. The mistakes of Sadashiva Rao, in abandoning the swift Maratha tactics of war and adopting the slow methods of the Mughals, greatly handicapped them in the struggle. They encamped on the field of Panipat and were harassed by the enemy who cut off their supplies and reduced them to starvation. When, therefore, they could not hold out any longer, they offered battle in desperation. The Marathas gained an advantage in the beginning, but the battle went against them and the desertion of Holkar and Gaikwad turned it into a disastrous defeat. Sadashiva Rao and Vishwas Rao were among the slain and thousands perished in the rout. The Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, could not recover from the shock of the news. The defeat and his death (1761) threw the Marathas into great gloom.

During the time of Balaji, the Maratha administration had made much progress. The collectors of revenue were brought under control, the courts of justice were improved and the police was strengthened. The Maratha people enjoyed peace and prosperity, and blessed the days of the Peshwa.

Madhu Rao.—Madhu Rao was a minor when he succeeded to the office of the Peshwa in 1761. His uncle, Raghunath Rao, conducted the Maratha

affairs. Violent party feelings had risen among the Marathas as a result of the defeat at Panipat, and they were intensified by caste prejudices. The uncle and nephew also quarrelled. At last Madhu Rao took the reins of government in his own hands, and appointed his own ministers among whom was Balaji Janardhan, better known as Nana Phadnavis, the chief accountant. The Nizam declared war in order to profit by the quarrels, marched through Maharashtra and sacked Poona. But the valour of Madhu Rao saved the Marathas and the Nizam was defeated on the banks of the Godavari (1763) and forced to retreat.

Next year he marched against Hyder Ali of Mysore, who had ousted the Marathas from their southern possessions, and defeated him in 1765 and again in 1767, recovering the lost districts. He also forced Raghoba and Bhonsla, who were intriguing against him, to obedience.

In 1769, Hyder Ali again took the offensive against the Marathas, and Madhu Rao at the head of his army moved towards Seringapatam. Although illness obliged him to return to Poona his commanders defeated Hyder Ali and laid siege to Seringapatam (1771). Hyder Ali was forced to surrender all the former conquests of Shivaji, to pay an indemnity and to promise an annual tribute.

Since the battle of Panipat the Marathas had not ventured into the north, but in 1769 the Peshwa sent an army which crossed the Chambal. They first collected tribute from the Rajputs and the Jats, then they reduced the whole of the Doab including Delhi. They entered into negotiations with Emperor Shah Alam who was staying at Allahabad, and brought him back to Delhi

(1771). They induced him to attack Rohilkhand where Najib-ud-Daulah's son, Zabita Khan, was ruling and overran the country. Thus, within ten years of their defeat at Panipat, they had recovered their ascendancy in the north. But the premature death of Madhu Rao at this juncture (1772) was followed by disputed successions and dissensions among the ministers and the chiefs, and the Maratha army was recalled to the south.

(iii). The Struggle between the English and the French, 1748-61

In 1748 the English possessed three centres of power in India—Bombay on the western coast, Madras on the Coromandal coast, and Calcutta in Bengal. These were the headquarters of the agents of the Company who were known as presidents and governors. Here the Company established institutions of government, municipal administration and justice on the English models. The turmoil which resulted from the wars of the Marathas and the Mughals in the latter half of the seventeenth century, had led the Company to aim at the establishment of English dominion in India. Its efforts met with little success so long as the Mughal empire remained powerful, but in the middle of the eighteenth century the decline of the empire led to disorder and confusion all over India. On the western coast the Maratha confederacy was in full vigour up to 1772, and, therefore, the efforts of the Company's agents at Bombay to extend their power proved futile. But in the Karnatak and Bengal the fratricidal wars of the Mughal governors and noblemen gave an opportunity to the European

companies to intervene in political affairs and obtain influence and dominion.

The first war between the English and the French ended in 1748. It did not alter their territorial possessions, but it showed how they could make use of the quarrels of the Indian princes to further their aims. Therefore, after the war was over, they maintained armies consisting of Europeans and Indians trained according to European methods, and sought to employ them in the wars of succession which broke out in the Deccan on the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748.

The Second Karnatak War.—The French governor, Dupleix, was the first to form the ambitious project of making his nation supreme in India. He supported the cause of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, and defeated their rivals, Nasir Jang and Anwaruddin, both of whom were killed in 1750. Dupleix received as his reward an accession of territory and recognition as governor of India, south of the Krishna river.

The English espoused the cause of Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaruddin, for the governorship of the Karnatak. The struggle brought Clive into prominence, on account of his capture of Arcot and its defence in 1751. The war continued till 1754, but no one achieved any great success. But, in the Deccan, affairs took a different turn. Dupleix had sent Bussy to Hyderabad. He rendered assistance to Muzaffar Jang and after his death to Salabat Jang. He fought against the Marathas, maintained the power of the Subadar against the intrigues of the nobility, and for his services obtained a large territory in the Northern Sarkars. By his diplomacy

Bussy dominated over the Deccan, and the French position was quite strong in the Karnatak. But in 1754 Dupleix was recalled, and his successor could not retain the influence which Dupleix and Bussy had acquired.

The Third Karnatak War.—In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, and the two rival companies took up arms against one another. In India the operations began in earnest in 1758. By this time the situation had become very favourable to the English. Their fleets were stronger on the sea, and could prevent the French from receiving assistance in money and men from Europe, and the successes of Clive in Bengal enabled the English to support their forces in the Karnatak with funds The inferiority of the French in naval power, and their lack of funds in India were great hand caps.

The French sent Lally to command their settlements and forces. He was a daring and brave officer, but hasty and violent. He was unable to secure co-ordination in the efforts of the French army and navy, and the civil and military officers. All his attempts to capture Madras failed. He recalled Bussy from Hyderabad and the French influence disappeared from the Deccan. The English troops sent from Bengal captured Masulipatam, and their fleet defeated the French on the sea. In 1760 Eyre Coote, the English commander, inflicted a severe defeat on Lally, taking Bussy prisoner. In 1761 Pondicherry surrendered, and then all the other settlements belonging to the French fell into the hands of the English. When the Peace of Paris concluded the Seven Years' War (1763), Pondicherry was restored but without its fortifications. The English thus triumphed over their rivals in Southern India.

(iv). The English in Bengal, 1748-72

The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 had given a great shock to the Mughal empire. Alivardi Khan, who was an officer serving under the governor of Bihar, overthrew his master and made himself the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1739. He resisted the attacks of the Marathas on Bengal successfully, although Cuttack remained in their hands. But his rule was disturbed by the insurrections of his own treacherous officers and relations, among whom were Mir Jafar, his general, and Siraj-ud-Daulah, his grandson. By 1751, however, he had secured peace from external and internal foes, and henceforth his reign was quiet and prosperous. He died in 1756, and Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of the provinces.

The English had built Fort William (Calcutta), their chief settlement in Bengal, on the land granted by Aurangzeb. Their trade had flourished and Calcutta had become a large town. The disturbed condition of Bengal, caused by the incursions of the Marathas and the rebellions of the officers, could not escape their attention. The presence of the French at Chandernagar was a source of danger, as the war between the French and the English in the Karnatak was bound to lead to hostilities between them in Bengal. The English, therefore, tried to fortify Calcutta even against the orders of the Nawab.

The Conquest of Bengal.—Siraj-ud-Daulah was suspicious of the English for many reasons. They had not treated him with courtesy. They had abused their privileges and had harboured fugitives from his justice. Besides, the English governor's conduct had been provoking. The fortification of

Calcutta convinced him that the English desired to behave in Bengal in the same aggressive manner as they had done in the Karnatak. He resolved to put an end to such schemes, and on assuming office seized Kasimbazar. He then marched upon Calcutta and captured it, after the governor, the commandant and others had deserted it.

When the news of the disaster reached Madras, the English sent Clive to Bengal at the head of an expedition. He sailed up the Hughli and recovered Calcutta (1757). Then a treaty was made by which the privileges of the Company were restored. The terms of the treaty were kept by the English only so far as they suited their interests. They violated the sovereignty of the Nawab by attacking and seizing Chandernagar, they bribed most of Siraj-ud-Daulah's officers including Mir Jafar, the commander-in-chief of the army, and Nand Kumar, the Faujdar of Hughli, through the perfidious Amin Chand. They conspired with the treacherous Mir Jafar for the deposition of the Nawab and for effecting a revolution in the government. He was promised the viceroyalty of Bengal if he complied with their conditions regarding the grant of territories, the privileges of trade and the payment of a large sum to compensate their losses.

When the arrangements were complete, peace was broken and Clive marched from Calcutta to Plassey, twenty miles from Murshidabad. Siraj-ud-Daulah gave battle to the English, but his officers betrayed him. Mir Jafar stood aloof from the conflict because he was in league with the enemy. The battle was lost although little blood was shed, and Siraj-ud-Daulah fled to Murshidabad. He was caught and put to death, and Mir Jafar was seated on the Masnad.

The battle of Plassey was one of the decisive battles of our history. It sounded the death-knell of mediæval India. It was a battle between the modern ideals of nationalism and the mediæval sentiments of personal loyalty and tribal sympathies. Plassey was a victory, not for superior arms or better tactics or greater bravery, but for a higher type of social organisation.

The result of the battle was that the English obtained the virtual mastery of Bengal. The governor became eventually a puppet in their hands, and the rich resources of the province passed under their control. The funds and troops of Bengal enabled the English to defeat the French who were contending with them for supremacy in the south. They also defeated the Dutch, who attempted to oust them from Bengal.

War with Mir Kasim.—In 1760, Clive sailed for England. Vansittart, who succeeded Clive, deposed Mir Jafar and set up Mir Kasim as Nawab. But quarrels immediately began between the new Nawab and the English. Of their causes the most important was that of the internal trade of the province. The Company's servants demanded complete exemption from duties on their trade. The Nawab considered the demand unjust because it dried up one of the sources of public revenue, and led to the ill-treatment of the officers, servants and subjects of the Nawab by the orders of the English traders. Then again Ellis, the English agent at Patna, who was a man of violent temper, did everything to exasperate the Nawab. The quarrels led to war. Mir Kasim left Bengal, entered into a confederacy with Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, and Shah Alam the emperor, and attempted to drive the English out of Bengal. But the

armies of the allies suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Hector Munro at Buxar in 1764. Mir Kasim disappeared, Shuja-ud-Daulah took refuge in Rohilkhand, and Shah Alam joined the English camp. The English had meanwhile restored Mir Jafar at Murshidabad, and on his death in 1765 his son, Najmud Daulah, was recognised as Nawab. But the Nawab was now reduced to a mere figure-head.

The Second Governorship of Clive.—At this juncture Clive came back a second time as Governor of Bengal (1765). He had to settle the relations of the English with the Emperor, the Nawab of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. He had also to reorganise the system of administration which had become affected with abuses. He restored to the Nawab of Oudh his dominions, except Allahabad and the surrounding districts, on payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, but virtually made him a dependant of the Company. He obtained from the Emperor the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by bestowing on him the districts of Allahabad and Kara, and a tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees a year. Thus he secured the control of the finances of the province directly for the Company, but left the government to the Nawab of Bengal. He entrusted the collection of the revenues to two Naib Diwans, Muhammad Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai.

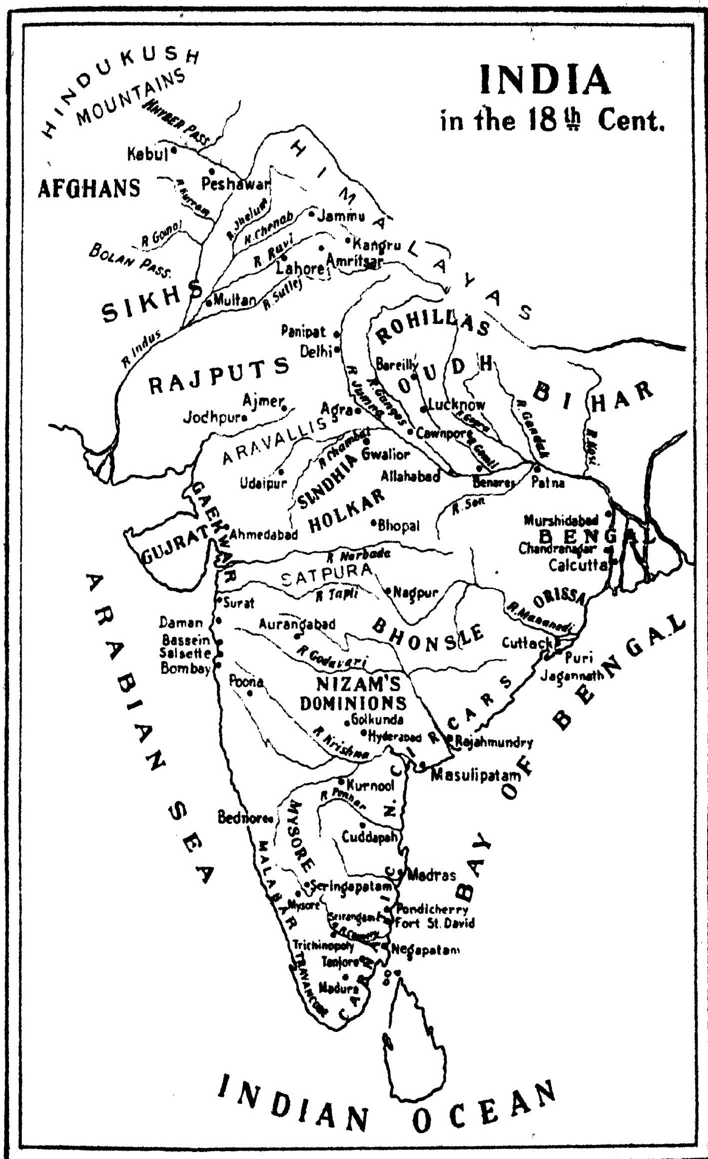
The removal of the abuses in the administration of the Company was a difficult matter. All the servants of the Company, from the highest to the lowest, were corrupt. Their salaries were low and they enhanced their income by accepting gifts and bribes. They were also permitted

to engage in private trade. Clive attempted to put an end to the private trade and the illegal receipts. He also made an effort to enhance the salaries by regulating the internal trade and using its profits for this purpose. The military officers created some trouble when their field allowance, known as double Bhatta was cut down, but Clive boldly put it down and punished the offenders.

Clive left India in 1767. He was the founder of the English dominion in India. He was a man of strong will and unflinching determination. He was brave in the face of danger, and capable of inspiring confidence among his followers. He did not possess strong moral scruples, and he was not above making a fortune for himself. But he had a clear understanding, and he made skilful use of his opportunities in the complicated conditions of India.

After the departure of Clive, Bengal passed through five terrible years of dual government, during which neither the government of the nominal Nawab, nor the officers of the Company cared for the poor inhabitants of this distracted province. The Company was anxious only to make profits, while the Nawab was helpless, because although the maintenance of peace and order was his function, both the army and the finances were under the control of the English. The dual system of government left all the power in the hands of the Company without making it responsible for the welfare of the people, while the Nawab had responsibilities which he could not discharge because he was powerless.

The misrule and drain of wealth impoverished Bengal, and in 1770 it suffered from a terrible famine which swept away one-third of its population. Nor did


INDIA
in the 18th Cent.
HINDUKUSH
MOUNTAINS
KHYBER PASS
Kabul
AFGHANS
Peshawar
Jammu
Kangru
Lahore
Amritsar
Multan
BOLAN PASS
SIKHS
HIMALAYAS
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Indus
Panipat
Delhi
ROHILLAS
Bareilly
OUDH
Lucknow
Cawnpore
BIHAR
Patna
Benares
RAJPUTS
Ajmer
Jodhpur
Agra
ARAVALLIS
Gwalior
Allahabad
Udaipur
SINDHIA
HOLKAR
Bhopal
GAEKWAR
GUJRAT
Ahmedabad
R. Son
Murshidabad
BENGAL
Chandranagar
Calcutta
R. Narbada
SATPURA
R. Tapti
Nagpur
ORISSA
R. Mahanadi
Surat
Daman
Bassein
Salsette
Bombay
Aurangabad
BHONSLE
Cuttack
Puri
Jagannath
R. Godavari
Poona
NIZAM'S
DOMINIONS
Golkunda
Hyderabad
R. Krishna
CIRCARS
Rajahmundry
Masulipatam
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Kurnool
R. Pennar
Bednore
MYSORE
Cuddapah
Madras
MALABAR
Seringapatam
Mysore
Pondicherry
Fort St. David
Srirangam
Trichinopoly
Negapatam
Tanjore
TRAVANCORE
Madura
CARNATIC
INDIAN OCEAN

the affairs of the English prosper, for political confusion affected the trade of the Company.

(c). The Third Phase, 1772—1818

(i). The Nominal Emperors of Delhi, 1772—1818

In 1772, Shah Alam returned to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas. The empire now existed only in name, for it did not extend much beyond Delhi and Agra. All the outlying provinces had become independent, although their rulers recognised the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor. Even in the Doab, the eastern parts were under the control of the Viceroy Premier (Nawab-wazir) of Oudh and Rohilkhand was under the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The Punjab was being overrun by the Sikhs, while the Jats pressed from the south. In the territories under the Emperor, his authority was small, for he had no forces of his own for their defence and for the maintenance of order. He depended upon the Marathas or other chiefs.

From 1772 to 1788, the internal affairs of the court of Delhi centred round the intrigues of the different nobles to obtain the office of the deputy wazir. Sometimes one, and at other times another, succeeded in holding it. In these intrigues the Marathas, the Jats, the Rohillas and the Viceroy of Oudh took prominent part. Their petty wars and quarrels fill up the history of these years. After the return of Shah Alam, the Marathas were soon obliged to leave the north on account of their internal difficulties in the Deccan. Mirza Najaf Khan, who now obtained the charge of affairs at Delhi, entered into a pact with Shuja-ud-Daulah to crush the Rohillas. The English supported them, and the allied

forces defeated and slew Hafiz Rahmat Khan at Katra Miranpur in 1774. Next year, Najaf turned his attention to the Jats, and not only crushed them in battle, but captured their most important fortresses including Dig.

The death of Shuja-ud-Daulah in 1775, and of Najaf Khan in 1782, deprived the empire of its strongest supporters. Quarrels for power broke out among the relations of Najaf, and their violent conduct frightened the Emperor and his heir, Prince Jawan Bakht. The Prince attempted to obtain the protection of the English, but the Emperor appealed to Mahadji Sindhia. In 1785, Mahadji entered Delhi and established his authority over the court. But the measures which he took for the restoration of order annoyed the old Mughal nobility. They formed a combination with the Rajputs, and sought the help of Ghulam Qadir, son of Zabita Khan and grandson of Najib-ud-Daulah, the Pathan chief of Bawani Mahal (Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts). This made Mahadji's position very difficult. The Rajputs threatened him from the west, the Mughals besieged his troops in Agra, Ghulam Qadir pressed upon Delhi, and the Emperor was irresolute in the support of his protector. While Mahadji was concerting plans to resist the combination, Ghulam Qadir took possession of Delhi. He deposed and blinded Shah Alam, and plundered the city (1788).

The Marathas now appeared in force and drove Ghulam Qadir out. He was pursued, captured, and ultimately hanged. Shah Alam was restored to the throne, but all real power was now exercised by the Marathas. Thus the revolution of the year 1788 closes the history of the Mughal Empire, for although Shah

Alam lived till 1806, and his successors Akbar Shah II (1806-37) and Bahadur Shah (1837-58) bore the title of Emperor, they wielded no real authority.

(ii). The Marathas, 1772—1818

On the death of Madhu Rao, his brother Narayan Rao became the Peshwa, but he was murdered soon after his accession.

The murder of Narayan Rao led to a dispute for the succession. His uncle Raghunath Rao, known as Raghoba, was one claimant, the other was Savai Madhava Rao, the infant son of Narayan Rao, who was supported by Nana Phadnavis, the Regent. In the war of succession, Raghoba obtained the help of the English governor at Bombay by ceding Salsette and Bassein. The war was fought in Gujarat, and in the battle of Arras (Adas) on the Mahi river, Raghoba and his English allies were handled severely by the Peshwa's forces in 1775. The Government of Bengal, which had now assumed supreme control over all the British possessions in India, disapproved of the Bombay Government's action, and concluded the treaty of Purandhar (1776) with the Peshwa, by which peace was concluded.

The feud between the Peshwa and Raghoba greatly weakened the Marathas. Some of the great leaders took the side of Nana Phadnavis and the ministers of the young Peshwa, but the others opposed him. The Maratha power ceased to be a strong centralised government, and became a loose confederation of almost independent chiefs who nominally recognised the authority of the Peshwa. Of these chiefs, Gaikwad in Gujarat, Holkar, Sindhia and

Bhonsla in Central India were the most important. They sought to extend their own territories. They never gave full support to the Peshwa, and joined in intrigues with the English, the Nizam of Hyderabad or the ruler of Mysore, for their personal benefit. But it is not necessary to enter into the tangled history of the constantly changing relations of these.

The First Maratha War.—After the treaty of Purandhar, Nana Phadnavis had to counteract the hostilities of Raghoba and his allies, the English. Both Nana and Hyder Ali had become alarmed at the growing power of the English in the Deccan, and they showed a desire to make an alliance. They made a combination with the Nizam and sought the help of the French. The English took all possible measures to defeat such plans, and prepared operations on a large scale. The Bombay Government, which had never liked the treaty of Purandhar and had not observed its terms, undertook to restore Raghoba to the Peshwaship. They obtained the support of Gaikwad and other disaffected Marathas.

In 1778 war broke out. The troops of the Peshwa offered resistance to the advance of the English to Poona through the Bhorghat, and forced them to retreat and sign the humiliating convention of Wadgaon (1779).

Hyder Ali assembled his troops at Bangalore and invaded the English possessions. He destroyed an English detachment under Colonel Baillie (1780) and threatened Madras.

The Bengal Government under Warren Hastings hastened to meet the menace of the allied powers. They sent an army under Goddard across Central India to Gujarat to attack the Marathas from Surat, another force

under Popham to fight them in Central India, and Sir Eyre Coote to check the advance of Hyder Ali. Goddard captured Bassein, Popham stormed Gwalior and Eyre Coote engaged Hyder Ali in a strenuous campaign.

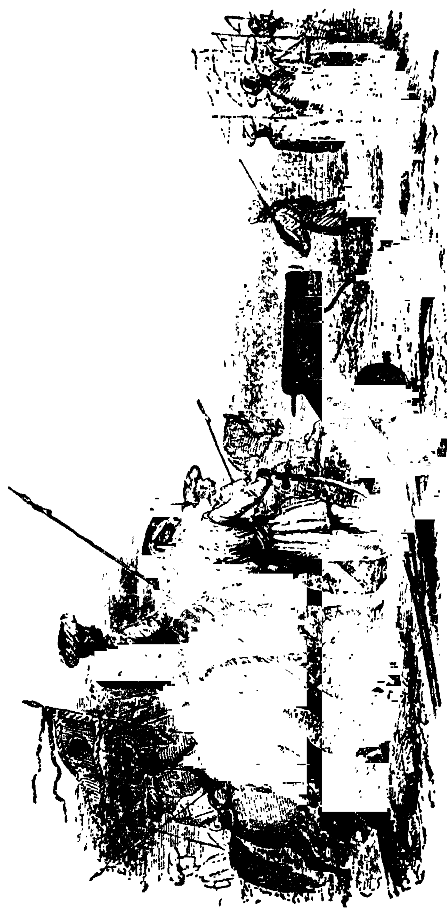
These events restored the prestige of the English, and Sindhia induced Nana to conclude with them the treaty of Salbai in 1782. The treaty brought the first Maratha war to an end. It secured Salsette for the British and a pension for Raghoba. It otherwise restored the old state of affairs. As a consequence of the treaty the disruption of the Maratha power was hastened, and the English were recognized as a dominant factor in the political affairs of India.

War with Mysore.—In 1782 the Marathas made peace with the English at Salbai, but soon they were compelled to wage war against their ally, the ruler of Mysore, *viz.*, Tipu Sultan, successor of Hyder Ali. The war continued for several years. In 1790 they made an alliance with the Nizam and the English. The combined forces overran Mysore, and in 1792 attacked Seringapatam. Tipu Sultan was forced to cede half his territory and pay an enormous sum of money, which were divided among the allies.

War with the Nizam.—After the conclusion of the war, the Marathas made demands for payment of arrears of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the Nizam who, relying upon English support and guarantee for peace among their allies, refused. War followed, and the Marathas inflicted a severe defeat upon the Nizam's army at Kharda in 1795, and seized a large tract of land.

The Downfall of the Marathas.—In 1795, the

Marathas had attained once again the summit of power and prosperity. Not only much of the Deccan, but a great



TIPU'S CAVALRY AND INFANTRY.
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part of northern India, was under the sway of the Marathas. Among the great Maratha chiefs, who

exercised power over large tracts in the north, Sindhia was the most important. But Mahadji, who had assumed control over Delhi in 1785, was jealous of Nana's ascendancy and desired to play an independent part. He was apprehensive of the English, and he took into his employment a number of French adventurers who trained his army on European models. The most noted of these was De Boigne. Mahadji's position in northern India was not secure. He had to fight against the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Mughal nobles, and he had to counteract the hostility of Holkar. But he overcame all opposition, and in 1792 he obtained from the Emperor Shah Alam the hereditary office of Vakil for the Peshwa, and of his deputy for himself. He thus became the most powerful of Maratha chiefs and a formidable rival of Nana. His death in 1794, however, left Nana in possession of undisputed authority. Mahadji was succeeded in his place by Daulat Rao.

But although Nana enjoyed unquestioned supremacy over the Marathas now, a sudden and untoward event in 1795 threw the state into confusion and disorder. Savai Madhava Rao, the Peshwa, who had been ailing for some time fell down from the balcony of a hall into a fountain below, and after a short illness died. Baji Rao, son of Raghoba, then determined to seize the throne. A struggle for power ensued between Baji Rao and Nana, which shook the foundations of the Maratha power.

The Second Maratha War.—The death of Nana in 1800 removed the only statesman capable of maintaining the integrity of the empire. Baji Rao was an utterly worthless man, and his accession to the Peshwa's gaddi led to civil war among the Maratha chiefs.

Sindhia and Holkar fought for control over the state and, therefore, Baji Rao sought the help of the English. He signed with them the treaty of Bassein in 1802, and bound himself to maintain a British force in his dominion, and to render himself subsidiary to the English. This treaty made the English supreme over the Deccan.

The other Maratha chiefs disapproved of the treaty, but they could not combine to form an alliance against their common enemy. Gaikwad remained neutral and Holkar gave no help, for he hated both the Peshwa and Sindhia. Sindhia had, therefore, to fight for Maratha independence with the support of Bhonsla only. The Maratha forces were no match for the English. Wellesley entered Poona, seized Ahmadnagar and defeated Bhonsla at Assaye (1803). Then he captured Burhanpur and Asirgarh. Bhonsla, who continued the fight, suffered defeat at Argaon and lost the fort of Gawilgarh. He was forced to sign the treaty of Deogaon, by which he ceded Cuttack and his share of Berar, and entered into a subsidiary alliance. Sindhia's forces met with severe reverses in Gujarat and northern India. Lake captured Aligarh, took possession of Delhi, and vanquished Sindhia's troops at Laswari. By the treaty of Surji Arjungaon (1803), he also lost much of his power and territory and became a subordinate ally of the English.

In 1804, Holkar was forced to declare hostilities. He conducted his operations with some success, and rallied the Jats to his side. The English failed to capture Bharatpur and won no decisive battle. They, therefore, made peace with him in 1805.

The Consequences of the War.—These events brought about a great change in the condition of the

Marathas. The English annexed large tracts of territory, made the Peshwa their dependent, and the Mughal Emperor their pensioner, "and they (the Marathas) sat down exhausted and dismayed, sensible of their errors when too late; but with no plan or even sentiment of union, except hatred to that nation by which they had been subdued."

The internal administration of the Maratha states in northern India rapidly deteriorated. The collection of revenue became irregular, the troops did not receive their salaries regularly because of the loss of independence and of territories and financial mismanagement. They refused to be disbanded and kept the country in turmoil and confusion. The Marathas always had contingents of Pindharees with their armies; they now became uncontrolled and were encouraged by the growing anarchy to set up as plunderers.

The Third Maratha War.—The government of the Peshwa at Poona suffered from similar troubles. Baji Rao, who was an absolutely worthless ruler, utterly neglected the affairs of his state. But he hated the English and attempted to increase his army and to revive the Maratha confederacy. He also tried to establish his ascendancy over Gujarat, which led to a quarrel between the Peshwa and Gaikwad. The murder of Gangadhar Shastri, Gaikwad's envoy at Poona, in 1816, gave an opportunity to the English to foil the plans of the Peshwa. The English forces surrounded Poona and forced Baji Rao to sign a new treaty, by which he ceded more of his territory and lost more of his power.

Baji Rao was exasperated by the treaty, and he made preparations to recover his independence, but again the

lack of concerted action on the part of the Maratha chiefs led to the defeat of each in turn.

The English defeated the Peshwa at Khirke (1817), and his supporter the Raja of Nagpur at Sitabaldi, and captured Satara and Nagpur. They closed upon the Pindharees of Central India, defeated Holkar at Mahidpur, and overran Bundelkhand. During the year 1817-18, the whole of the Maratha territory was subjugated, Baji Rao surrendered and was deprived of all power and made a pensioner. The Raja of Satara was placed on the throne, but he ruled over only a small state as a dependant of the English. The kingdom which Shivaji had founded in 1674 and which, under the first three Peshwas had grown into a vast empire, thus finally passed away in 1819.

The Causes of the Downfall.—The causes of the downfall of the Marathas were similar to those which operated in the case of the Mughal empire. There was no cohesion among the Maratha leaders. Their government was conducted entirely by the chiefs, ministers and Sardars, and was not influenced by the people. The subjects were bound to their rulers only by sentiments of personal loyalty, but they did not regard the state as their own and, therefore, were not interested in its permanence and stability.

The Maratha chiefs quarrelled among themselves. They were jealous for personal power and did not unite against their common enemies. Their armies were not homogeneous, and they had troops of various communities and tribes including the Europeans in their service. Their troops and commanders could be easily won over by their enemies,

The Maratha empire maintained itself by continuous wars against the Indian princes, and their exactions from the Hindu and Muslim rulers made them incapable of uniting the country under one authority; therefore they forced these rulers into alliances with the Europeans settled in India.

There was no satisfactory system of education among the Marathas and there was a dearth of efficient and honest officers. Corruption was rife in the government and industry and commerce were neglected.

(iii) Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan

The founder of the kingdom of Mysore is said to have come from Dwarka in Kathiawar in the fourteenth century. His successors remained the feudatories of Vijayanagar till its destruction in 1565. Then they established an independent principality and extended their territory. Early in the eighteenth century power passed into the hands of the ministers and the commander-in-chief known as the Dalwai became the virtual ruler.

In the period of the wars of succession which began in 1748 in the Deccan, Hyder Ali rose into prominence. His father was killed in fighting for the Mughal empire against the Nawab of Arcot. His brother entered into the service of the Mysore ruler and he followed him. He attracted the attention of his officers by his qualities, made a rapid advance in service and by 1760 became the chief of the Mysore army. Then he ousted the Dalwai from power and took the reins of government in his own hands. For 21 years he ruled the kingdom of Mysore with great success. He was gifted with the

highest qualities of a statesman, general and diplomat, and his name stands foremost among the galaxy of great men whom India produced in the eighteenth century.

Hyder Ali was mainly occupied with wars against the Marathas and the English. The Marathas desired to recover the districts conquered by Shivaji and lost during the struggle with Aurangzeb, and to levy tribute. They, therefore, attacked Mysore again and again. In 1759 Hyder Ali foiled their attempt to take Bangalore, but in 1764 Madhu Rao crossed the Tungabhadra and forced Hyder to sue for peace. In 1766 Madhu Rao again invaded Mysore and compelled Hyder Ali to pay a large tribute. Four years later they advanced to the capital Seringapatam, but were bought off by the payment of an indemnity. In 1778 he repelled another attack and annexed the territory in the Raichur Doab. During the intervals of these wars he conquered Malabar, Coorg and neighbouring districts.

The First and Second Mysore Wars.—Hyder Ali's first war against the English took place from 1767 to 1769. He greatly harassed the British forces and their allies, marched upon Madras and obliged them to conclude peace. In 1779 he made an alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam, gathered his forces and crossing the eastern passes swept across the plains to appear before Madras. He cut down Baillie's troops, stormed Arcot, fought a number of actions against Eyre Coote, and inflicted heavy losses upon the English. But during the midst of the war which he had waged with such consummate skill, disease overtook him and he died (1782).

Tipu Sultan who succeeded his father continued the

war inspite of the desertion of the Marathas and the Nizam. He had inherited many of the qualities of his father and he was a brilliant general. His main task was to keep the Malabar Coast open and he carried it out with success by recovering possession of the territory in Kanara and Malabar and capturing Bednur and Mangalore. The war was at last brought to an end by the treaty of Mangalore in 1784.

The Third Mysore War.—The high-handedness of the Governor-General and the discreditable proceedings of the Governor of Madras brought about the third Mysore war. Tipu attacked Travancore and Lord Cornwallis concluded a treaty with the Marathas and the Nizam (1790) and declared war. Cornwallis himself took the command; he captured Bangalore and then laid siege to Seringapatam. Tipu sued for peace (1792). He had to cede half his territories and pay a huge indemnity to the allies.

The Fourth Mysore War.—After the great losses sustained by him, Tipu took measures to recover his power. He collected funds, reformed the revenue administration and recruited his army. He also sent embassies to Afghanistan, Persia and France to gain allies, and made attempts to win the friendship of Indian rulers.

Lord Wellesley who arrived in India in 1798 had made up his mind to establish the supremacy of the British over the country. He could not tolerate an Indian ruler who presumed to enter into negotiations with an enemy of England, *i.e.*, France. As Tipu Sultan had sent envoys to the French governor of Mauritius, he called upon him to give up intercourse with the French. The Sultan refused to surrender his independence and

Wellesley declared war. The English forces marched to Seringapatam and stormed the town. The Sultan fell fighting bravely at the gate of his palace.

Parts of Mysore were added to the territories of the British and their allies, and the remainder was constituted into a state over which the Hindu Raja was installed as ruler.

(iv). The English, 1772—1818

(1). Warren Hastings, 1772-85

The East India Company was an association of English merchants who had received charters from the Government of England for the purpose of carrying on trade in India. The Company had established its factories on the coasts of India and organised the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They had taken part in the political affairs of the Indian rulers, and acquired by 1772 large tracts of territories in Bengal and in the south. The Company had, therefore, grown into a territorial power, and this change raised three problems which needed settlement. In the first place, it was necessary to fix its position in relation to the government in England; in the second place, to determine the relations between the two branches of the Company—one in England, and the other in India; and lastly, to determine the relations between the three presidencies in India.

Constitution of the East India Company.—In 1773, the Parliament of England passed the Regulating Act. The Act did three things—(1) It remodelled the constitution of the Company in England, and it subjected the Company to the control of the British Parliament. (2) So far as the administration of India was concerned,

the Act provided for the appointment of a Governor-General of Bengal, assisted by four councillors with power to control the other presidencies in making war or peace. (3) The Act also provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three judges.

The provisions of the Act, however, contained a number of defects. In the first place, the Governor-General and his Council were bound by the votes of the majority of those present at the meeting of the Council. Thus, the Governor-General could be overruled whenever three members of the Council combined against him. This rule created a great many difficulties in the administration. In the second place, although the Government of Bengal controlled the other presidencies in matters of war and peace, the governors could communicate with the Board of Directors in England and act upon their special orders. In this way, they could set at naught the authority of the Governor-General. In the third place, the jurisdictions of the Governor-General and his Council and the Supreme Court were not clearly defined, and, therefore, their authorities clashed. This defect was removed by the Act of 1781.

The Regulating Act included the names of the Governor-General of Bengal and of his four councillors. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General.

Pitt's India Act, 1784.—The defects of the Regulating Act were removed by the India Act of 1784. The Act established a Board of Control which brought the Company completely under the direction of the British Government although it left the powers of

administration, appointment, and trade in the hands of the Company. It entrusted the administration of India to the Governor-General and a Council of three, and made the presidencies definitely subordinate to Bengal.

Administrative Changes.—In 1772, Warren Hastings was appointed the Governor of Bengal. The dual system of administration established by Clive was still in existence; Hastings was ordered to abolish the system. Under this system, although the English held the supreme power, they did not concern themselves with the administration of the country; they entrusted the Nawab with maintaining peace and order and administering justice and law, as well as the collection of revenue through two officers known as Naib Diwans—one for Bengal and the other for Bihar. Thus power and responsibility were separated, and the people were grievously oppressed.

Hastings abolished this system. He took away all authority from Indian hands, took over the Nizamat as well as the Diwani, and removed the treasury and revenue offices from Murshidabad and Patna to Calcutta. The Naib Diwans were dismissed. He established a Board of Revenue at Calcutta for administering the land revenue, and appointed collectors in each district for collection of revenues. For the administration of justice two Sadr courts were established at Calcutta under the supervision of the Supreme Council—a Sadr civil court and a Sadr criminal court. Under the control of these courts, district courts of each type were established, but the collectors were made responsible for civil justice, while Indian officials were still retained to preside over the criminal courts. The judicial powers of Zamindars were taken away. The

other measures of Hastings included the reduction of the allowance paid to the Nawab of Bengal from 32 to 16 lakhs, the suppression of dacoity in Bengal, and the strict administration of criminal law. His attempts to purify the services were not successful, because the civil servants continued to engage in private trade. He, however, abolished the system of Dastaks.

The system of Hastings was based on the rejection of Indian co-operation in the administration. It handed over all authority to inexperienced English merchants and clerks. It failed. Then under orders from the Directors of the East India Company, criminal justice was handed over to the Nawab, and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat was moved back to Murshidabad (1775).

Warren Hastings and the Indian Rulers.—The period during which Hastings ruled over the British dominions in India was one of great stress for the British Empire. In Europe they had to face the hostility of France, and in America the revolt of their colonies which won their independence. It was, therefore, difficult for Hastings to obtain much support from England, and he had to maintain his hold over the Indian territories in opposition to the Marathas, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali who were in touch with the French.

1. The Emperor of Delhi.—Shah Alam resided at Allahabad after the defeat at Buxar as a dependant of the Company. He received a tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees from them. But in 1772, he removed to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas. Hastings regarded the Marathas as his enemies, and, therefore, decided to stop the payment of the tribute. The districts of Allahabad and Kara were made over to the Nawab of Oudh for 50 lakhs of rupees.

2. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Rohilla War.—The keynote of the English policy in the north was the maintenance of friendship with the Nawab of Oudh, who acted as a buffer against all invasions of Bengal from the west, either of the Marathas or of the Afghans. The English sold the districts of Allahabad and Kara to the Nawab in order to leave the protection of their frontier in the west to the Nawab, and to bind him more closely to themselves.



A ROHILLA
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In 1772, Hastings entered into a treaty with the Nawab to protect Rohilkhand from the invasion of the Marathas, on condition that Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the Rohilla chief, paid 40 lakhs of rupees to the Nawab. In 1773, the Marathas departed from the Doab, for they were recalled to the Deccan by the events following the death of their Peshwa, Madhu Rao. The Nawab claimed the stipulated money from the Rohillas, who refused to pay. The combined forces of the Nawab and the English defeated the Rohillas. Rohilkhand was annexed to the dominions of the Nawab, and the English obtained much profit.

3. The Marathas.—The rapid recovery which

the Marathas had made after the defeat at Panipat roused feelings of alarm. By 1772, the Marathas had become a dominant power in the north, and the English were afraid of their encroachments and were hostile to their power. The death of Madhu Rao offered the English the opportunity to interfere in Maratha affairs. Hastings played his part with great courage and skill. He made use of the mutual jealousies of the Maratha chiefs, and the feuds of the rulers of the Deccan and Mysore, to weaken the Marathas and obtain a dominating position for the English.

The Bombay authorities used Raghunath Rao as an instrument for the extension of their influence. Raghunath Rao signed in 1775 the Treaty of Surat, by which the English promised to help him with troops on condition that he defrayed their cost and ceded Salsette and Bassein. In the war which followed, the English were unable to gain any considerable victory, and the Bengal Government ordered the Bombay Government to cease hostilities. The Treaty of Purandhar was then concluded. But in 1778, the Bombay Government, with the special permission of the Directors, decided to renew the war in order to instal Raghunath Rao as Peshwa. The campaign proved disastrous. The English had to sign the Convention of Wadgaon and lost a great deal of their prestige. But now Hastings intervened, and adopted vigorous measures to revive the English prestige. The march of Goddard through Central India, the capture of Gwalior and Bassein, and the defeat of Sindhia were serious blows. The indifference of Bhonsla towards the Poona affairs, and the rivalry of Holkar and Sindhia weakened Nana's power, and he was induced by Sindhia to make the Treaty

of Salbai in 1782 which ended the war. As a result, the English became a dominant power and the bonds of Maratha confederacy were loosened.

4. Karnatak Affairs.—The wars against the French had given to the English the position of military supremacy in the Karnatak. But they did not assume control of the province, and the Karnatak remained under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1766, the English made a treaty of mutual assistance with the Nizam, who allowed them to occupy the Northern Sarkars. The treaty was aimed against Hyder Ali whose energetic rule and military skill made him a dangerous person in the eyes of the English, and particularly of their ally Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot. In 1767, they declared war on him but the war was a failure, for Hyder Ali not only harassed the English forces, but threatened Madras, and the government was forced to make peace (1769).

In 1780, when the English were engaged in fighting against the Marathas, Hyder Ali, who had been provoked by their intrigues with the Nizam and the Marathas, declared war. The Madras Government was in the hands of incompetent officers and Hyder Ali gained successes over the English troops. Warren Hastings sent troops from Bengal which stemmed the disastrous tide. The Treaty of Salbai in 1782 released the Bombay forces and they began to operate against Hyder from the west. The death of Hyder Ali in this year did not affect the situation, for Tipu Sultan carried on the war with great vigour. At last in 1784 the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Mangalore, which confirmed each party in its old possessions.

The Difficulties of Warren Hastings

1. Warren Hastings and his Colleagues.—By the Regulating Act, the Governor-General was associated with four councillors to carry on the government, but he could not override the decisions of the council. Unfortunately for Hastings, three of the councillors constantly opposed the plans of the Governor-General who was placed in a minority in the council. For a number of years he had to experience the greatest difficulties in carrying out his policy, but death and retirement freed him from his opponents. The councillors who were appointed to fill the vacancies proved more manageable.

2. The Trial of Nanda Kumar.—Nanda Kumar was the governor of Hughli under Siraj-ud-Daulah. He rose to the position of Deputy Nawab of Bengal, but was deprived of this office later. He was an ally of the councillors opposed to Hastings, and he brought charges of corruption against the Governor-General who naturally hated him bitterly. Counter-charges of conspiracy and of forgery were brought against him. He was tried by the Supreme Court and sentenced to death. "There can be no doubt that the infliction of the death penalty was so excessively severe that it amounted to a miscarriage of justice." Hastings was glad that Nanda Kumar, his personal enemy, was removed from his path, but the execution leaves a dark stain upon his conduct.

3. The Council and the Supreme Court.—The powers of the Supreme Court had not been clearly defined by the Regulating Act, and there was much conflict between the jurisdiction of the Company's officers and the Supreme Court. Hastings tried to put an end to the conflict by placing Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice

of the Supreme Court, at the head of the judicial system of the Company. The friction was stopped, but as the independence of the chief justice was lost by this arrangement, the authorities in England refused to sanction the arrangement and it ceased.

In 1781 an Act was passed by the British Parliament which amended the Regulating Act and clearly defined the powers of the Supreme Court. Thus the conflict was permanently removed.

4. Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh.— The war of the Company against the Indian rulers exhausted its finances, and Hastings had recourse to new methods for raising money. The first victim of his extortions was Chait Singh, Raja of Benares. Large sums of money were demanded from him for which there was no justification. Even their payment did not satisfy him. In 1780 he proceeded to Benares, and put the Raja under arrest. The Raja's troops were infuriated by the undeserved humiliation of their prince and broke out in insurrection. Hastings fled to Chunar, but rallied his forces, drove Chait Singh out of Benares, and conferred his dominions on his nephew. "Hastings' treatment of the unfortunate Raja was merciless and vindictive." The result of his action was that the country round Benares was turned into a waste, while the Company received no money.

His next victims were the Begums of Oudh—the mother and the grandmother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. The Nawab owed money to the Company. Hastings urged upon the Nawab the desirability of seizing the treasure possessed by the Begums, and in 1782 the money was extorted by force.

Estimate of Hastings' Character and Career.—Hastings was gifted with a clear and resourceful mind and with tireless energy and indomitable courage. He had to defend the interests of his nation in a dark hour of its history. He succeeded in making the British one of the dominant powers in India, when in another part of the world the empire was crumbling to pieces. Hastings was not a great administrator, for his civil system proved a failure, but he was a masterly diplomat and a great organiser. In the employment of means to achieve his end he was unscrupulous, for his moral sense was not keen. He was a great benefactor of his country for, in the face of bitter opposition, and with limited resources, he established firmly the foundations of the British dominion in India. But so far as India is concerned he neglected the interests of its peoples, and his administration rendered them poor and miserable. He, however, appreciated the value of Indian institutions and learning. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and required the Company's courts to administer Indian law and respect Indian customs.

(2). The Establishment of British Supremacy in India, 1785—1818

The period between 1785 and 1818 was one of rapid expansion of British dominion in India. Several factors were responsible for this: the decline of the Marathas, the only rivals of the English, on account of their internal dissensions; the rise of the Sikhs in the Punjab which made it impossible for any Asiatic power to invade India; the rapid growth of the prosperity and power of England owing to the industrial revolution in

England; and the supremacy of the British over the seas which enabled them to prevent their European rivals, especially the French, from interfering in Indian affairs.

The period was so full of wars that administrative developments were few, but those that took place were important. The land revenue systems, the method of dispensing criminal and civil justice, and the Civil Service were organised and improved.

The State and the Company.—In 1784 Pitt's India Act had been passed by the Parliament. An amending Act was passed in 1786, by which the Governor-General was given the power to override the decisions of the Council in special cases, and to hold the office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

The Charter of the Company was renewed for twenty years in 1813, but the sovereignty of the British Crown over the possessions of the Company was definitely affirmed.

Lord Cornwallis, 1786-93, Administrative Developments.—Lord Cornwallis, who came to India in 1786, was entrusted with three main tasks: (1) to establish a new system of relations with the Indian princes based upon the policy of non-intervention; (2) to remove the abuses of the land revenue system and to settle permanent rules for its collection; and (3) to reorganise the system of administration. He endeavoured to remove the corruption in the Civil Service by stopping irregular gains and granting adequate salaries to the civil servants. He established provincial courts of appeal over the district courts, and limited the powers of the collectors to revenue work only by appointing judges for judicial work; thus he finally separated civil jurisdiction from revenue administration. He again

took over the control of criminal jurisdiction from the Nawab's courts and placed it in the hands of the Company's servants. He organised the system of police.

In 1793 he carried out the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. By this measure the revenue demanded from the landlords was fixed permanently and they were recognized as absolute masters of their estates. The result was that a wealthy and privileged class grew up, which became a support for the Government. But the state lost its share of the growing income from land, and the cultivators were left to the mercy of the landlords.

One great defect of Cornwallis' measures was that the people of India were entirely excluded from the administration of their own country.

Expansion of British Dominion.—During the period of Cornwallis' rule the English engaged only in the war against Tipu Sultan. Although the Act of 1784 had declared against the pursuit of schemes of conquest and extension of dominion, Cornwallis gave a promise of help to the Nizam against Mysore, on which Tipu made an attack on Travancore, an English ally. War began in 1790. The Marathas joined the English. Cornwallis took the command in person. After two years the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. Half the territory of Mysore and three crores of rupees were the gains of the allies, and they were equally divided.

Sir John Shore, 1793-98.—Shore carried out strictly the policy of non-intervention laid down in Pitt's India Act. He abstained from schemes of conquest and of alliances which might lead to war. This policy could be

of value only if the Indian rulers continued to quarrel among themselves, and none among them obtained such dominating power as to threaten the English. In these circumstances the Company could save money, and reform the system of administration in its own territories. However, these circumstances were difficult to obtain, and the policy of non-intervention could only be followed by breaking faith with the princes with whom definite treaties had been made.

During Shore's administration the Marathas took advantage of this policy to obtain a dominating position, and to inflict the crushing defeat of Kharda on the Nizam who was an ally of the English, but who was not supported by Shore. Again, the French utilised the opportunity to establish their influence at the courts of the Nizam, who, after Kharda, was justly infuriated with the English, of Tipu Sultan, who had been deprived of his territory, and of the Maratha chiefs like Sindhia and Holkar.

Lord Wellesley, 1798-1805.—Wellesley came out to India at a time when the English were engaged in a fierce struggle for national self-preservation against the French, who were led by their great general Napoleon. He was determined to defeat the plans of the French in India which threatened British dominion, and to make the power of his nation paramount.

In order to achieve his objects Wellesley developed the system of subsidiary alliances with the Indian rulers. The main features of the system were: (1) the Indian ruler who became a subsidiary ally was forbidden from entering into treaties of alliance with or from waging war against his neighbours, and thus became subordinate to the English in his foreign policy;

(2) he had to maintain a force under British command and pay a subsidy for its maintenance to the Company; (3) he could not employ any foreigner in his service, who belonged to a nation at war with the English; and (4) he had to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government.

The policy of subsidiary alliances was most advantageous to the English, for it enabled them to maintain a large army under their own command without incurring any expenditure, and to use the army against the Indian princes to uphold their supremacy. The policy was enforced with great harshness and without any consideration for the feelings of the Indian princes. But their selfishness, political incapacity and neglect of the interests of their people had made them easy and deserving victims.

The first prince to whom it was applied was the Nizam. He was induced to disband his forces trained under the French officers and to receive and pay for an English force.

Tipu Sultan was seeking an alliance with the French, and, therefore, Wellesley resolved upon crushing him. An English army marched upon Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and stormed the city. Tipu died fighting in defence of his kingdom (1799). The old Hindu dynasty was restored, and the Raja submitted to a subsidiary alliance.

The Nawab of Oudh, who ruled over a territory which lay between the invaders from the north-west and Bengal, could not be allowed to remain independent. In 1801, he was forced to give up half his territory, and to enter the subsidiary system.

The Marathas were the last to feel the weight of Wellesley's domineering personality. The accession

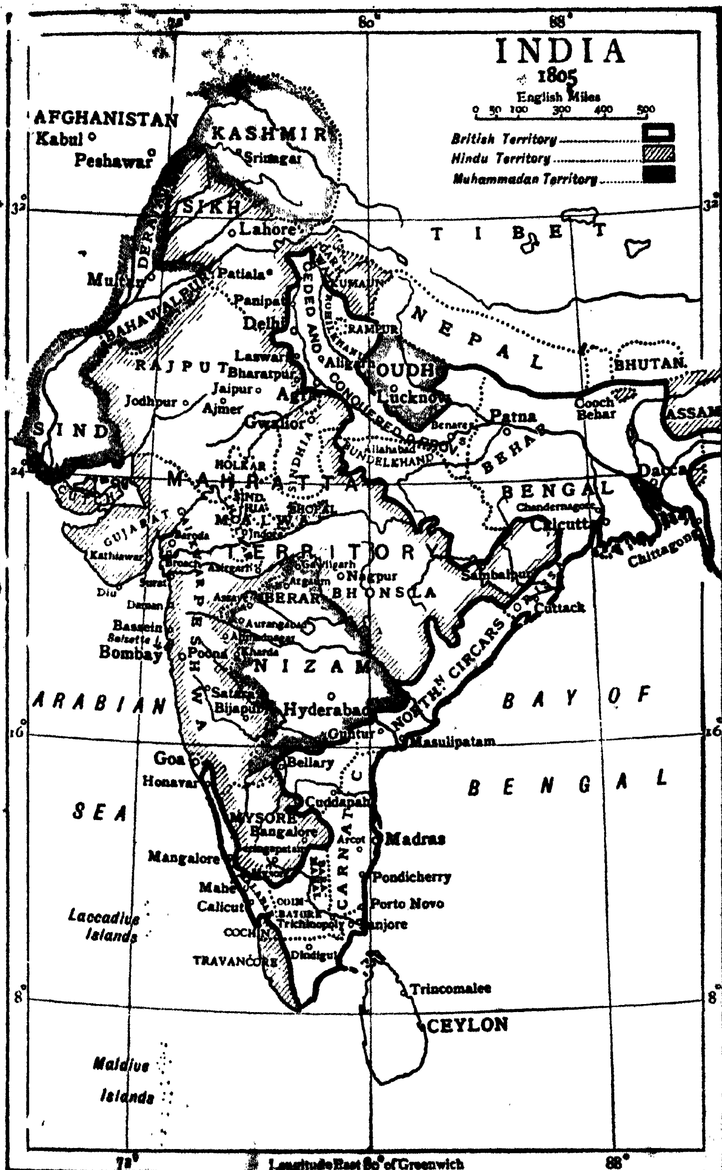
of Baji Rao II led to civil commotion. The dissensions and jealousies of the Maratha chiefs caused a disruption, and Baji Rao placed himself in the hands of the English and signed the Treaty of Bassein (1802), by which he accepted the subsidiary alliance. The other Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Bhonsla, who attempted to escape the net were forced into it by the Treaties of Deogaon (1803) and Surji Arjungaon (1803). Gaikwad gave up his independence without a struggle, and Holkar alone continued to enjoy his freedom for some time longer, but in 1805 he too became a subordinate ally of the English.

The territories acquired by means of these treaties were large. The Nizam gave up the districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, the ruler of Mysore gave up Kanara and Coimbatore, the Nawab of Oudh lost Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand, the Bhonsla Raja gave up Cuttack, and Sindhia, Broach and the Doab.

The Raja of Tanjore and the Nawabs of Karnatak and Surat were deprived of their principalities which were annexed to the British territory.

The policy of Wellesley was costly, and it reduced the profits of the shareholders of the East India Company. He was recalled in 1805 and Cornwallis was sent out a second time with instructions to adhere to the policy of non-intervention. Cornwallis died within three months of his arrival in India, and Sir George Barlow held the office for two years (1805-7). He strictly followed the policy of Cornwallis.

Lord Minto, 1807-13.—When Minto arrived in India new dangers threatened the British empire. Napoleon had attained unprecedented power in Europe and had just entered into an alliance with the Czar of



INDIA
1805
English Miles
0 50 100 300 400 500
British Territory
Hindu Territory
Muhammadan Territory
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Peshawar
KASHMIR
SIKH
Lahore
TIBET
Multan
Patiala
Panipat
Delhi
NEPAL
BAHAWALPUR
RAJPUT
Bharatpur
Jaipur
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Agra
Gwalior
OUDH
Lucknow
BHUTAN
Cooch Behar
ASSAM
Patna
SIND
MAHRATTA
BENGAL
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Dacca
Chittagong
Baroda
Indore
TERRITORY
Kathiawar
Broach
Surat
Diu
Daman
Nagpur
BHONSLA
Sambalpur
Cuttack
BERAR
Bassein
Salsette
Bombay
Poona
NIZAM
NORTHN CIRCARS
ARABIAN
Satara
Bijapur
Hyderabad
BAY OF
Guntur
Masulipatam
Goa
Bellary
Honavar
BENGAL
SEA
Cuddapah
MYSORE
Bangalore
Madras
Arcot
Mangalore
Pondicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Porto Novo
Laccadive Islands
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
Dindigul
CARNATIC
Trincomalee
CEYLON
Maldive Islands
Longitude East 80° of Greenwich

Russia, with the object of crushing Britain, destroying its commercial prosperity and overthrowing its empire in Asia. To meet this threat it was necessary to suppress all elements which could be a source of trouble. Minto consequently adopted a policy of active interference in Indian affairs, and gave effect to it by wars of conquest and by alliances.

The conquests included the seizure of the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon (1810), of the Dutch Spice Islands, and of Java (1811).

Embassies for concluding treaties of alliance were sent to Persia, Afghanistan and the Punjab. The mission to Persia was unsuccessful because of the quarrel between the British agents sent from India and those from England. Malcolm, who had been sent by Lord Minto to Persia, returned without accomplishing anything.

The mission to Kabul failed too. Afghanistan was in the grips of a civil war, and the British envoy could not reach the Afghan capital.

The mission to Maharaja Ranjit Singh was headed by Metcalfe, and a treaty of perpetual friendship was signed at Amritsar in 1809. The Maharaja undertook to abstain from making encroachments on the territories of the Sikh chiefs south of the Sutlaj, which was recognised as the frontier of the British dominion. The British posted an army at Ludhiana to watch the frontier.

Lord Hastings, 1813-23.—The policy of non-intervention was now completely abandoned for one of assertion of complete supremacy of the British in India. The enfeebled Indian princes and petty chiefs had little interest in good administration, and they had no large views about the welfare of the people. They were

engaged in petty disputes among themselves, whose only object was personal aggrandisement. These feuds were destructive of peace and prosperity. Hastings determined to put an end to this state of things.

The Nepal War.—His first war was directed against the Gurkhas, who had founded an extensive principality in the Himalayan region. They had established themselves in Kathmandu, in 1768, and extended their power from Sikkim to Sutlaj, so that their frontier coincided with that of the British dominion. This led to border disputes and, in 1814, to war. The Gurkha territories were attacked from three sides, but the British generals suffered severe reverses, and General Gillespie was killed. General Ochterlony, however, conquered Kumaon in 1815, and captured the fort of Malaon. Next year he defeated the Gurkhas at Makwanpur and forced them to conclude peace by the Treaty of Sagauli. The Gurkhas ceded Garhwal and Kumaon, and the greater portion of the Tarai, and received a British resident at their capital.

The Pindharees.—Hastings next turned his attention to the unsettled conditions in Central India, where the Marathas, the Pathans, the Pindharees and the Rajputs ruled over their territories with complete disregard to their responsibilities. The Pindharees, who were at one time the camp followers of the Maratha forces, had lost employment after the Marathas had accepted the subsidiary system. They formed bands of freebooters who were recruited from all communities. Their occupation was to harass and plunder. Their most prominent leaders were Chitu, Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan. In 1812 they began to raid the territories of the Company,

and in 1816 they attacked the Northern Sarkars. Hastings rounded them up. The leaders who surrendered were offered small estates where they settled. The others were hunted out and killed.

The Marathas.—After the Pindharees came the turn of the Marathas. Baji Rao II had a dispute with the Gaikwad. The English supported the Gaikwad, and the Peshwa attempted to assert his authority with the help of Sindhia and Holkar. The Governor-General surrounded the Maratha territories from all sides, and when the Peshwa attacked the English at Khirke, he was defeated. The office of the Peshwa was abolished and Baji Rao was made a pensioner. The Raja of Nagpur, who had also risen against the English, was defeated at Sitabaldi; a part of his territories was annexed and the remainder left to his grandson.

The Holkar's forces suffered defeat at Mehidpur (1818). He relinquished his territories south of the Narbada and accepted a British resident at his court.

The Sindhia ceded Ajmer, and Gaikwad Ahmedabad.

The Raja of Satara was provided with a small principality which he ruled under the British suzerainty. The Rajput states were taken under the British protection.

The wars of Hastings put an end to the existence of all independent principalities in India south of the Sutlaj, and established the paramountcy of the British in this vast region.

(v). The Sikhs, 1708—1824

After the death of Guru Govind Singh his chosen disciple, Banda, returned to the north and became the leader of the Sikhs. He collected Sikh bands and

attacked and defeated the Mughal officers in the Punjab. Then he occupied the country between the Sutlaj and the Jumna. Emperor Bahadur Shah hastened to the Punjab and drove Banda to Jammu. The death of the emperor and the civil war which followed were favourable to the Sikhs, and they reappeared in Southern Punjab. But Farrukhsiyar sent an imperial force under Abdus Samad Khan, which reduced the fortress of Gurdaspur and captured Banda. In 1716 he was put to death at Delhi. The death of Banda left the Sikhs without a leader, and little is heard of them till the invasions from the north-west gave them again a chance to raise their head.

During the period of commotion (1739-65), when Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah repeatedly invaded India, the Sikhs rapidly rose into prominence. They founded the Khalsa state, raised an army, built strongholds and struck coins. In 1764 they occupied Lahore and became masters of the whole country from the Jhelum to the Jumna.

They organised themselves into a confederation. All the Sikh chiefs met once every year at Amritsar, and held a *Gurumatha,* or council, to decide matters of common concern. The confederation consisted of twelve *misals* or unions. Each union obeyed a Sardar, held its own lands and maintained an army of horsemen.

The *misals* which were established in the Punjab to the north of the Sutlaj river were known as Manjha Singhs, and those between Sirhind and Sirsa as Malwa Singhs. The confederation of the *misals,* however, did not last long because of personal jealousies among the leaders, and even the invasions of Shah Zaman in 1797-9 failed to unite them. But between 1765 and 1800 the

Sikhs extended their sway in all directions, and brought not only the Punjab from Attock to Karnal, but also Multan and Jammu, under their control. They ravaged even the Doab and Rohilkhand, and pressed upon the borders of Oudh.

Among the *misals* of Manjha, the Sukherkuchia ultimately obtained ascendancy under the leadership of Mohan Singh, while among the Malwas, the Patiala branch of the Phulkians was acknowledged as the leader. During the Second Maratha War (1801-05), some of the Sikh Sardars made an alliance with the English and rendered good service to them against the Marathas. Among these Sardars was Ranjit Singh, son of Mohan Singh.

The Rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.—Ranjit Singh was born about the year 1780. During the invasion of Shah Zaman in 1799 he rose into prominence, and his abilities were recognised by the Shah, who granted him Lahore. He then reduced the *misals* to submission, acquired Amritsar in 1802 and extracted homage from the chiefs of the Punjab. During the Maratha wars Ranjit Singh refused to help the Marathas, and entered into a friendly alliance with the English. By 1806 the Sikh confederacy of *misals* had ceased to exist, and Ranjit Singh had resolved to establish a monarchy which would unite the Sikhs in a single state.

But in 1809 Ranjit Singh's ambitions received a rude check, for the British took the Sikhs of Sirhind and Malwa (the country south of the Sutlaj) under their protection, and compelled him to remain on the other side of the river on pain of war. Ranjit Singh realised that so long as his rule was not firmly established it was futile to arouse the hostility of a military power like the English,

and yielded. The treaty of peace and friendship once made was never broken by him.

The period between 1809 and 1824 was utilised by the Maharaja to consolidate his dominion. In 1818 he captured Multan, in the next year annexed Kashmir, in 1820 took Derajat, and in 1823 Peshawar. He was now supreme in the Punjab and master of Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar. Maharaja Ranjit Singh continued to rule successfully over his dominions till his death in 1839.

C. The State of Society and Civilisation during the Mughal Period, 1526—1818

During the Mughal period a common civilisation grew up in the greater part of India. Under the unifying influences of a powerful state, which established a common system of administration, the material conditions of life became similar all over India. The maintenance of universal peace gave opportunity to the moral forces to so shape the minds of the peoples as to evolve a common outlook upon life, which expressed itself in similar spiritual and social ideals and a common art and literature. Both Muslims and Hindus contributed to this development, and, in fact, the civilisation of the later Middle Age may appropriately be described as the Indo-Moslem or Muslim-Hindu civilisation.

But although the peoples created a common civilisation, they were unable to evolve the consciousness of national unity. They remained divided into tribes, castes and clans, and failed to develop the ties which could bind them all into a single society. One new idea, however, did make its appearance during this period, *viz.*, the idea of the religious community. For the first time

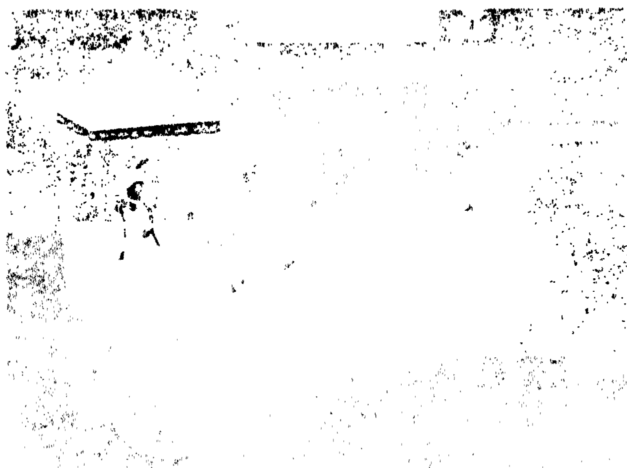
arose the sentiment that the followers of the faiths which had originated in India, and which recognised the *Vedas* as their sacred book and the Brahmans as their religious leaders, belonged to a single community. At the same time the idea of communal unity received an impetus among the Muslims, for although they were divided by race and tribe, by religion they were one. The sentiment of religious community, however, remained weak throughout the period, and had little influence upon the public conduct of the princes and peoples of India.

Economic Conditions.—The Indians of those times lived mostly in villages, as they do now, but the villages then were small self-sufficient groups of population. For purposes of administration, as for social and economic life, they were self-dependent units. They produced all the articles of necessity, food, clothes and furniture themselves, and mainly for their own use and consumption. Their cultivators grew the crops of grain, spices, oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton, their craftsmen manufactured the wood, brass, copper and iron furniture, tools, utensils and arms; and their artisans dyed cloth, produced leather goods and built houses. The methods of agriculture were simple and the tools used in the cottage industries primitive. Machinery was unknown. Human labour or that of horse and cattle supplied all the power that was needed. Specialisation was little advanced, for the village had to find all its own supplies. All kinds of crops were grown in the same village. Industry was carried on by hereditary workers belonging to fixed castes in accordance with traditional methods. Wages were paid in kind, and prices and wages fixed by custom. Money was little used, and much of the exchange of produce was

by barter and payment of services in kind. Land was extensive, but the population was stationary. The people enjoyed plenty and there was no demand for change and improvement.

Besides the villages were the towns which were large centres of population. They had arisen at spots which were sanctified by religion such as Prayag (Allahabad), Benares, Ajmer and Mathura; or were chosen by chiefs, princes or kings for their residence as Delhi, Lahore, Golkonda, Bijapur, Dacca, Tanjore; or marked important sites on the trade routes as Mirzapur, Farrukhabad, Broach, etc. The towns were populous homes of a varied life. Industries flourished there under the patronage of the courts or the stimulus of a large population. Bankers and money-lenders, manufacturers of India's exquisite silk and cotton textiles, jewels and arms, and other costly and luxurious stuffs, and traders who exported these articles to near and distant lands, lived in them. Architects, painters, poets, artists, and literary men found profitable occupation and support there. At a time, "when the merchant adventurers from the west made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was, at any rate, not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations." In the words of Professor Weber "the skill of the Indians in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones and all manner of technical arts has from very early times enjoyed a world-wide celebrity." Indian manufactured goods were exported to Western Asia and to the countries of Europe, and it was the profit of the trade in these goods which attracted European merchants to India during this period.

Transport.—The means of communication between villages and towns and the different parts of the country were scanty, and roads unsatisfactory. Only a few trunk roads were constructed by the Mughal emperors, and they were really the ancient routes which the Indian rulers had kept up. They were, however, not metalled properly. The branch roads were mere tracks



A MUGHAL MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

(Indian Museum.)

cut by village carts. Many interior parts could only be reached by pack animals. Some of the large rivers were used as highways of commerce, but there were no canals which could be navigated.

The state of communications was thus very imperfect. During the dry season the bullock carts would move

over them with light loads at a slow pace and by short stages, but the hilly country throughout the year, and the plains during the rains, were practically impassable. It was highly expensive and extremely difficult to carry cheap and heavy goods from one place to another. The different parts of the country were thus isolated and there was little contact between villages and towns. The volume of internal trade was small and the country was divided into numerous markets independent of one another. The villages were forced to be self-sufficient, and in times of scarcity and famine the affected region suffered great miseries. The lack of movement affected the economic life which was unprogressive and dominated by custom and tradition.

Social Conditions.—The peoples of India were divided in many ways. In the first place, they were divided into occupational groups, as the occupations were usually hereditary. Those who followed the same occupations formed permanent groups. Such groups or castes were found both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Among the Hindus there were, for example, the castes of craftsmen like goldsmiths and carpenters, of menial servants like palanquin-bearers (kahars) and sweepers, or petty officials like Kayasthas, etc. Among the Muslims, similarly, there were weavers, carders, dyers, elephant drivers, masons, etc. The old Hindu divisions of castes and sub-castes continued to exist. But their main object was to determine the circle of marriage and dining, and they were not necessarily occupational groups. The Brahmans, for example, besides being priests were engaged in many other functions like agriculture and service. The Sayyids received special respect among the Muslims.

In the second place, the peoples of India were divided into tribal groups. Among the Hindus there were, for instance, the powerful tribes of the Rajputs and the Jats in Northern India. They comprised numerous clans and counted many castes among their dependants. Among the Muslims the Pathans, the Turks, the Persians, and others were tribal groups consisting of many clans.

A third type of division was based upon sectarian differences. For example, the Hindus were divided into Vaishnavas, Saivas, Saktas, Sikhs, etc., and the Muslims into Sunnis and Shias.

Lastly, there were territorial divisions of peoples, for instance, the Marathas, the Karnatakas, the Andhras, the Gujratis, the Bundelas, etc., among the Hindus, and the Deccanis and the Hindustanis among the Mussalmans. Apart from these social divisions society was divided politically into two main classes. To the one class belonged the warriors, the commanders and troopers who were the support of the state and who enjoyed political privileges and jagirs, constituted the imperial service and, therefore, occupied a higher status in society. To the other belonged all those who were not warriors, who were engaged in arts and crafts, agriculture and commerce, who supplied the revenue to the state for their protection and security from external and internal dangers, but who were dependants and held an inferior status.

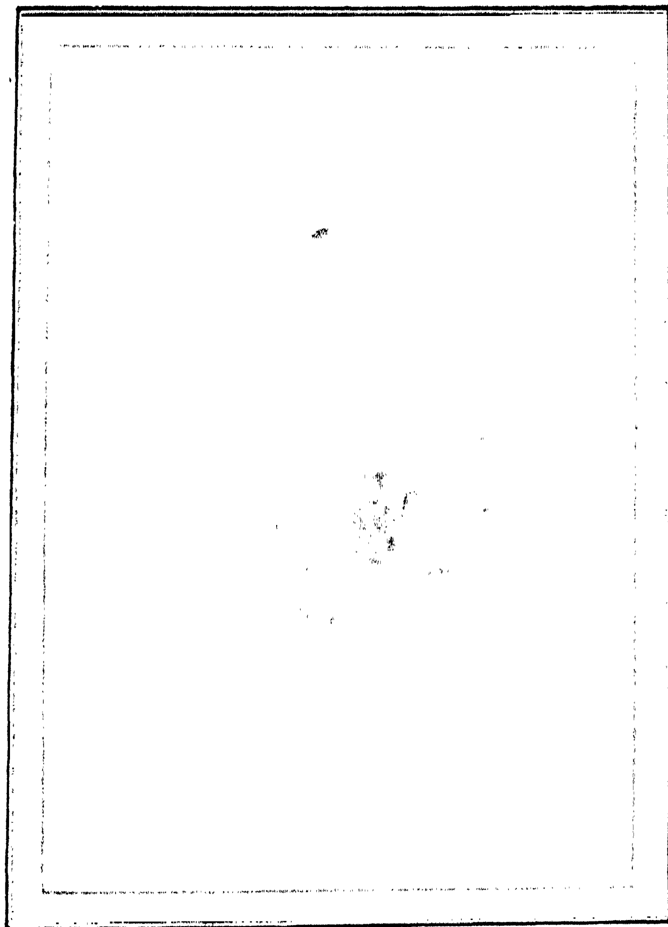
Hindus and Muslims were both found among the two classes, for the Mughals gave employment as commanders, governors, *faujdars* (district officers), *amils* (revenue collectors), *diwans* (treasury officers), etc., *i.e.*, as military and civil officers to Rajputs, Jats, Bundelas, Marathas, Brahmans, Kayasthas, Khatris and

others among the Hindus, along with the high class Muslims, Turanis, Iranis and Afghans.

There was a third class, also, which consisted of the literary men who depended upon the patronage of the nobility and the princes, but who exercised little influence in political affairs.

The different groups—occupational, tribal, sectarian, and territorial—regulated their affairs themselves. They had their own chiefs and leaders who controlled the members in accordance with the customary laws. The groups were more or less independent. Their chiefs and leaders rendered homage to the emperor, and obeyed his commands. But their loyalty was based on personal and traditional grounds and not on grounds of national interests. They were attached to the emperor, but were not attached to one another. The groups, therefore, held together not in an organic unity, but as a loose confederation. The consciousness that India formed a single society or nation did not exist among them.

Religion, Customs and Manners.—Many religions existed in India in this age. The most widely prevalent were of course Hinduism and Islam. But there were other religions too, *e.g.*, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Among the followers of the Hindu and the Muslim religions there were three classes of people. In the first place, were the learned men, that is, the Pandits and Maulvis who adhered rigidly to what they regarded as the strict letter of their sacred scriptures. Many of them were scholarly men, some of them were genuinely pious, but quite a number were bigots. Then, there were the ignorant and superstitious masses whose

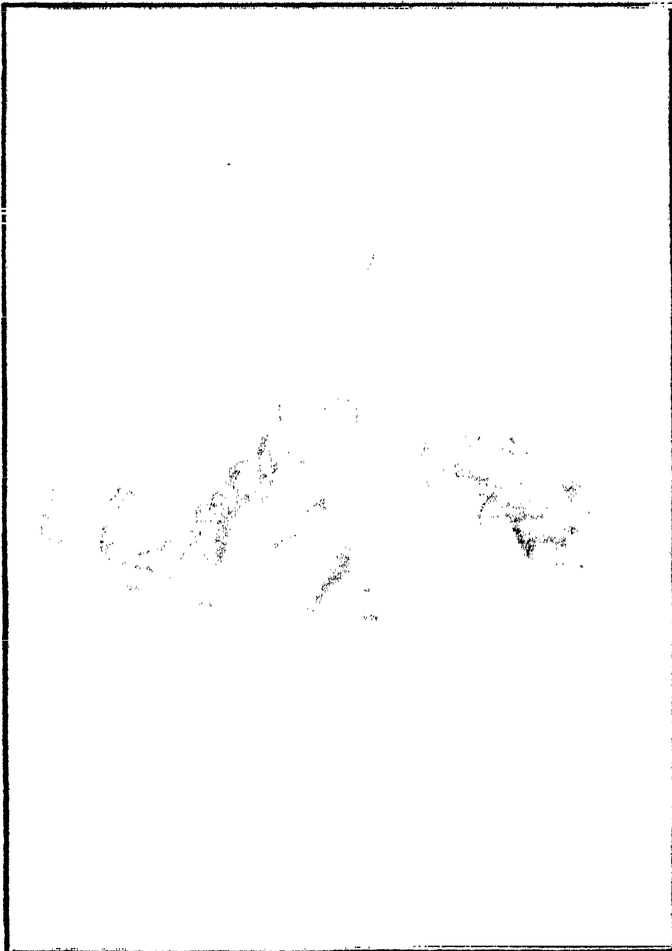


SIVA RATRI.
(RAJPUT SCHOOL.)

religion was a matter of blind faith, of performance of external acts of piety like fasts, pilgrimages, worship of relics of saints and of graves, of belief in supernatural beings and ghosts, etc., and of practising all kinds of superstitious rites and ceremonies. But in the middle were the numerous inhabitants of this country for whom religion stood for the love of God and of man, and for the sanctification of life.

The outlook of these, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, was the same. They believed that the world was a vale of sorrow, and the only way of escape from it, and the attainment of true happiness was by turning their hearts away from the temptations of the senses and taking refuge in complete surrender to the will of God whose unlimited grace alone could save man. It was, therefore, necessary to place oneself under the control of a spiritual guide and preceptor, and to follow the path of inner discipline which led to the goal of realization of God. Both among the Hindus and the Muslims there were many orders which saintly preceptors had established. The heads of these orders ministered to the needs of their disciples. Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Jnandeva, and others among the Hindus had founded such orders. Among the Mussalmans the most wide-spread order was the Chishtiya, which was founded by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. It had many branches like the Nizamiya. The other orders were the Naqshbandiya, the Qadiriya, the Suhrawardiya, and the Shattariya.

The Hindu and Muslim orders had many things in common. They believed in one God Who was called by many names. They sought salvation through the help of a spiritual guide (*Guru* or *Pir*). They followed



MADAR SHAH, A MUSLIM SAINT, GIVING AN AUDIENCE.

(Mughal School, XVIIIth Century.)

(*British Museum.*)

similar methods of self-realization through mediation, and passed through the same stages in the path of discipline which led to it. Both condemned hypocrisy, external works of piety, distinctions between men and men whether based on birth or wealth or position. The idea of a quiet and ascetic life fascinated their minds. For both the abandonment of the world was the highest aspiration and the love of God the one supreme purpose of life. This purifying and elevating religion ennobled the minds and elevated the character of the people. Under its influence a common desire for equality and freedom of men of all castes and classes sprang up, and the attitude of men towards women began to change. Many social and moral reforms were undertaken, for example, the abolition of child-marriage and *sati*, and the prohibition of drinking. The saints and the reformers spread this religion through the medium of the spoken languages of the people, and powerfully advanced the cause of mass education.

The Hindus and the Muslims were brought so close together that common customs and manners grew up among them. The Muslims adopted a great many customs of the Hindus, and the Hindus those of the Muslims. The ceremonies which they performed on the occasion of the birth of a child, or of the beginning of his education or of his marriage, were alike. They celebrated their fairs, feasts and festivals in the same way. Their superstitions were common. Their amusements, games and exercises were identical. The virtues which they esteemed and the vices which they condemned were the same. Their manner of dealing with superiors, equals and inferiors were similar. In their domestic life, household

arrangements, dress, ornaments, arms, and armour, in short, in most of the details of their living, it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other.

Literature and Art.—The Hindus and the Muslims studied one another's language, literature,



MUGHAL LADIES PLAYING POLO.
(Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.)

philosophy, and religion. Not a few Muslims learnt Hindi and other Indian languages, and some studied Sanskrit also. Numerous Sanskrit works were translated into Persian, including the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Puranas*, etc. A number of commentaries on Hindu Shastras and Vidyas were written by Muslim scholars. The Muslims contributed to the

enrichment of the Hindi, Bengali, and Punjabi languages and literatures. Raskhan composed beautiful devotional songs in honour of Sri Krishna, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan composed Dohas on moral subjects in Hindi, and Mirza Husain Ali composed songs in praise of Kali in Bengali. The Muslim writers composed songs to illustrate the Hindu musical *Ragas* and *Raginis*, and adapted Hindu stories to the modern Indian languages.

Imperial unity, religious reform, peace and plenty stimulated the rapid growth of literatures in these languages. They breathe a moral fervour and exhibit a strength of style which were the outcome of the spirit of high endeavour which moved society in those times. Religious devotion, heroic deeds, and romantic sentiments inspired their poetry, and although the Hindus turned for the themes to the ancient Sanskrit classics, and the Muslims to the Persian and the Arabic literatures, their treatment of the subjects showed the same features of style and sentiment.

It is impossible to mention the names of all the great writers in the many important languages, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries abound in them. But some of them stand out as makers of their languages and creators of great masterpieces.

Hindi, which was the most widely known language of India, and which occupied the proud position of the common language of those times, produced the largest number of great poets. Among the religious poets the foremost name is that of Goswami Tulasidas (1532-1623), whose *Ramacharit Manas* occupies an honoured place in the treasury of the masterpieces of the world. Surdas, who is almost equally famous, was a

singer at the court of Akbar. He is the author of the *Sursagar,* which is a collection of songs in praise of Krishna. Among bardic poets Bhushan, who extolled the deeds of Shivaji, and among sentimental and artistic poets Kesava (1555-1617), Behari Lal (1603-63), and Deva (1673-1745) excel all others.

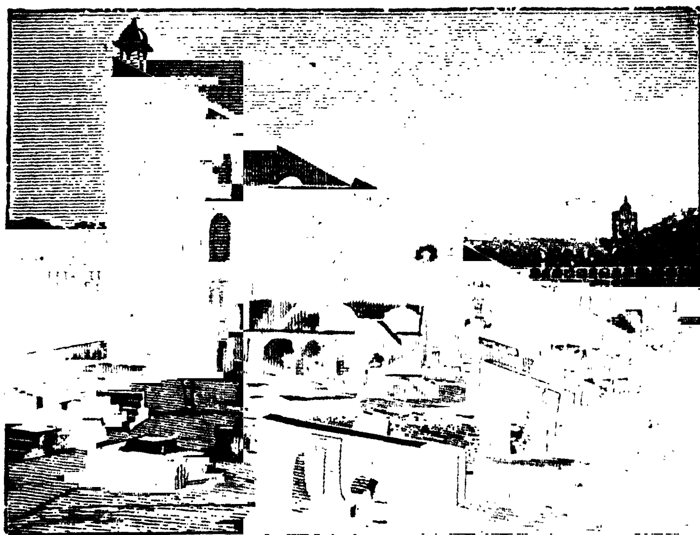
Bengali poetry was the medium of the religious revival started by Chaitanya, and it greatly flourished in this period. Its greatest writers in the seventeenth century were Kashiram and Mukund Ram—whose poems *Chandi* and *Srimanta Saudagar* are admirable, and Alaol, the Muslim poet, who translated the *Padmavat* of Jayasi into Bengali, and wrote a number of other works.

The great Marathi poets were the saints Ramdas (1608-81), who was the preceptor of Shivaji and who composed the *Dasabodh,* and Tukarama (1608-49) the singer of *Abhangas* (hymns). The most noted poet of Gujarat was Premanand (1636-1734), who is the maker of the Gujarati literature. Among the Dravidian languages Tamil witnessed a religious revival similar to that in the north. The sect of the Siddhars resembled the followers of Kabir, and their Tamil poems express heterodox sentiments of the same nature.

In Kanarese, too, the Vaisnava revival produced religious poems composed by the members of the sect known as Dasas in the sixteenth century, and by Lakhshmish in the seventeenth.

The contact of the Hindus and the Muslims created a new language which was known at first as Dakhini or Hindi, but which is now called Urdu or Hindustani. Although its origin dates from the early Middle Age, its literature developed during the Mughal period. The first important writers were the Sufi saints of the Deccan

who composed poems to explain religious subjects. Then the nobles and the courtiers and even the princes took it up. The language follows Punjabi and western Hindi in structure and grammar, has assimilated numerous Persian and Arabic words, and follows the poetical forms of the Persian. Wali (1668-1744), who came from the Deccan, though not the first, was the greatest of the early Urdu poets.



JAI SINGH'S OBSERVATORY.

Besides the growth of the modern Indian languages, the old classical languages continued to flourish. Great Persian prose writers and poets adorned the courts of the Mughal emperors whose books on history, philosophy, and theology, and whose poems in different forms and on different subjects, are admired even to the present day.

The process of assimilation was at work in the Indian arts also. The architecture of the later Middle Age was the result of the combination of the Hindu and the Islamic elements. The Hindus contributed the ground-plans of the buildings and many ornamental details, and endowed solidity to the structures. The Muslims popularised the use of the arches and domes, restrained the Hindu tendency to a profusion of ornaments, introduced new ornaments including the geometrical pattern called the Arabesque, and imparted a peculiar grace to the buildings. The buildings erected during the period, whether by the Hindus or the Muslims, show these common characteristics.

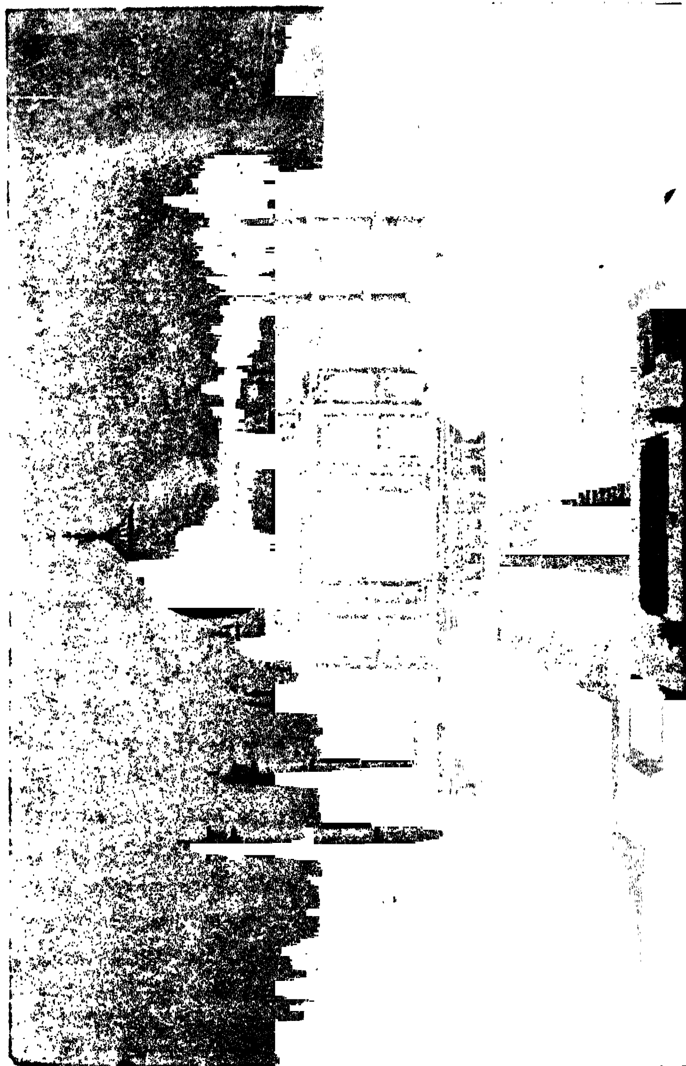
Among the buildings erected by the Hindus, the most famous are the temples of Brindaban, the Jaina temples of Sonagarh in Bundelkhand, and of Muktagiri near Gawilgarh, Ahalyabai's temple at Ellora, the temple at Kantanagar in Bengal, the Visheshwar temple at Benares, and the golden temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar. Numerous palaces and cenotaphs were built by the Hindu Rajas in accordance with the principles of the new style (Indo-Moslem). The great monuments of the Mughals were mostly constructed in the same style. Among them are the great buildings of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, the Great Mosque, the House of Birbal and the Panch Mahal. Akbar's palaces at Agra, Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara and the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah belong to Jahangir's reign. Shah Jahan was, however, the most magnificent builder among the Mughal emperors, and of his buildings the Taj Mahal is the most famous. These buildings count among the greatest architectural productions of the world. In

addition, the Mughals built a number of forts, palaces, hunting kiosks, tombs, etc.

The Indian painting of this period shows the same tendencies. The traditions of the art of Ajanta persisted throughout the Middle Age. When the Mughals arrived in India they brought with them a taste for the art of Persia and Transoxiana. Babur and his successors set before the artists of their court, many of whom were Hindus, the examples of the paintings of Bihzad and his school, who were the leaders of the Muslim art of Central Asia. From the mingling of these two streams the new art of the later Middle Age was born.

The earliest paintings, which appear to have been executed in the time of Humayun to illustrate the story of Amir Hamzah, show the domination of the Persian art. But under the patronage of Akbar, who regarded painting as a means to the realization of the power of God, painting became more Indian. Although Persian artists, like Khwaja Abdus Samad, Mir Ali and Furrukh were employed as teachers of the Indian painters, the latter created a style of their own. Among the best painters were Basawan and Daswanth, who along with others were employed to illustrate the great manuscripts of *Razmnamah* (the Persian translation of the Mahabharat), *Babur Namah*, *Akbar Namah*, and Nizami's poems.

During the reign of Jahangir, who was even a keener patron and critic of art than his great father, painting attained a perfection unknown before. The artists of the courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan emancipated themselves from the Persian influence and set up independent Indian styles. Abul Hasan, Muhammad Nadir Samarqandi, Mansur, Murad, Mir Muhammad,



TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

Bishandas, Gobardhan, Manohar, Daulat, Hunhar, Chitarman, and Bhagwati were among the great masters of these reigns. With the accession of Aurangzeb painting declined at the court, though it continued to flourish in Rajputana and the Hill States.

Principles of Mughal Government.—It is the duty of every government to secure the life, property and happiness of the people over which it rules. It must safeguard the rights of the individual from encroachment by others, and defend society from internal dangers and external invasions. The necessary activities of the state by which it regulates the affairs of a country are usually divided into three departments—legislative, executive and judicial. Besides them, the state has to undertake many activities for the betterment of society.

During the Middle Age, the entire authority of the state centred in the emperor, and he was regarded as the main-spring of the activities of the state. But so far as legislation was concerned, his authority was greatly limited, for most of the laws whether relating to personal matters like marriage and inheritance, or to public affairs like crimes and punishments, were derived from sacred books, for the Muslims from the Holy Quran and for the Hindus from the Dharma Shastras, and the emperor could not change them or add to them. The courts which dispensed justice in accordance with these laws were presided over by men learned in the sacred literatures, and their judgments on actions provided for in the sacred books were final. For matters lying outside the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics, the emperor was regarded as the fountain of justice. In the sphere of administration he was, however, absolute. The military power and the

financial resources of the empire were entirely under his personal command.

In the exercise of his executive authority the emperor was not bound to seek the advice of any one. He was, therefore, an autocrat. In practice, however, the emperor always took counsel with a number of great ministers on whom he relied. The work of the empire was conducted through departments in charge of superintendents who were subordinate to the ministers.

The empire was divided into provinces in charge of provincial governors with whom were associated *diwans.* Under them were *faujdars* who maintained order and helped in the collection of revenue in the districts, and on whom the proper administration of the empire mainly depended. They were like the magistrates and collectors of modern India, except that they combined both civil and military functions. The *diwans* who dealt with the revenues were assisted by *qanungos,* below whom were the village officials like *patwaris.*

The ecclesiastical department dealt with justice, religious endowments and patronage of the learned. Its head was known as the *Sadrus Sudur,* under whom were provincial *Sadrs.* The *Qazis, Muftis* and *Mir Adls* were under their supervision, and they investigated cases and dispensed justice.

The civil and military administration of the empire was conducted through the imperial service organised by Akbar, and maintained with modifications by his successors. The appointment, promotion, and dismissal of the members of the service depended entirely upon the will of the emperor.

Although the Mughal government was despotic in principle, the spirit which guided the conduct of the

emperors was benevolent and paternal. They "lived amongst their people, and amongst their nobles, as kind and condescending parents amongst their children; nor did they suffer the dust of sorrow to darken the heart of any of the creatures of God, by a show of tenderness to one part of the people, and of rudeness to the other. For they looked upon them all, whether conquerors or conquered, with an equal eye; so that for several ages together, down to the times of Shah Jahan, everything in Hindustan was quietness, love and harmony."

The European Travellers.—The wealth of India and the splendour of the Mughal court attracted the attention of European nations. Ambassadors, merchants and missionaries came to India to obtain trading privileges and opportunities to spread the Christian religion. During the reign of Akbar, the Jesuit missionaries from Goa came to his court at the invitation of the emperor. During Jahangir's reign, Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe were sent by the English king to seek the permission of the emperor to establish factories and carry on trade. The two famous French travellers, Bernier and Tavernier, and the Italian Manucci, visited India during Shah Jahan's time and stayed on during Aurangzeb's reign. All of them have left behind accounts of what they saw and heard; their descriptions are interesting but not altogether reliable.

The Condition of India during the Eighteenth Century.—The Mughal empire which had attained a high degree of prosperity and advancement rapidly declined during the eighteenth century. Financial mismanagement was its starting point. The expenses of the state grew rapidly because of the personal extravagance or

of the wars of the emperors. Their revenues were affected by the growth of the jagir system, and by the farming out of land revenue. The wars of succession spread ingratitude and encouraged hypocrisy and selfishness which undermined the loyalty of the imperial nobility. The custom of lease of office, which was introduced after Aurangzeb, spread corruption, and the executive officers became rapacious and oppressive. The judicial offices were put to sale and justice naturally disappeared. The people were harassed and distressed, they had no redress for their grievances and no remedy against injustice. The rents from land decreased, husbandry declined and hatred towards government grew. The nobles and the landowners became violent, and chaos and anarchy prevailed in the land. Every one thought of his own personal interest, and no one paid heed to the interests of others. The bonds of morality and loyalty were weakened and the state was enfeebled. The result was that internal dissensions broke out, the empire lost all control and the foreigners taking advantage of its distractions brought about its destruction.

Art and literature which continued in a decadent state reflect the misery and the shame of the times and the disgust of the people with life. The literature of the eighteenth century is depraved in taste, style and spirit, although it acquires a glittering polish in form and a great wealth of words, far-fetched similes and clever expressions. The poetry which flourished at the courts of the powerless Mughal emperors and the provincial governors is artificial, exaggerated and sensual. In Urdu, Mir represents in his deeply pathetic, Sauda in his bitterly sarcastic, Nasikh and Atash, in artificial and sensual

verse, the state of this society. Bengali, in the poetry of Bharatchandra, Ramprasad and his contemporaries, shows the same tendencies.

In Maharashtra, under the patronage of the Peshwas and the Maratha chiefs, religious, heroic (*Pawada*) and erotic (*Lavani*) poetry flourished. Moropant who rendered the *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavad* in Marathi, Prabhakar and Honaji Bal, the well-known heroic poets, Anant Phandi and Ramjoshi the erotic ones, and Mahipati, the biographer of saints, lived in this age. In prose the narratives of historical events (*Bakhars*) were composed. In the Tamil literature of the eighteenth century two names need mention. The first is Tayumanavar, a Saiva, who composed short religious poems (*Padal*) breathing earnestness and piety, and distinguished by beauty of language. The second is Beschi, who was an Italian missionary and who wrote the *Tembavani*, the story of the Bible in Tamil.

Architecture and painting also repeat the story of imperial decadence. Aurangzeb's buildings show a rapid decline in taste, of which the tomb of his favourite wife Rabia Daurani at Aurangabad is an example. In the eighteenth century the emperors of Delhi lacked the resources for erecting imposing monuments, but the provincial rulers continued to adorn their capitals with buildings. The Nawab Wazirs of Oudh erected a number of them, but these buildings exhibit a vitiated taste. Among them the best ones are the tomb of Safdar Jung at Delhi and the great Imambara at Lucknow.

Outside the centres of Mughal authority, however, schools of art continued to flourish during this century, which still produced beautiful specimens of painting.

The vigour and freshness of the Mughal style is not there and the portraits lack individuality and distinction, but the pictures revive the tradition of the old Hindu art and are inspired by popular and mythological themes. The painters belong roughly to two schools—Rajasthani and Pahari; Jaipur was the most important centre of the first, and Kangra and Tehri-Garhwal of the second. Of the painters of the latter school Mola Ram is the most famous.

CHAPTER V.

THE MODERN AGE

British Rule in India

THE Modern Age of the history of India begins with the establishment of British rule in 1818. During this age occur those changes in the conditions of Indian life which have transformed society. The mediæval ideals of conduct, of political relations between the rulers and the ruled, of social relations between classes, castes, and groups have been gradually modified. From the variety of peoples divided by caste, creed and race we begin to develop one society united by bonds of a common love for the country. The mediæval distinctions of high and low, in-caste and out-caste, touchable and non-touchable, noble and common, begin to give place to the idea of the equality of all.

Among the new forces which begin to operate in India during this period some are material and others moral. The introduction of European machinery, which harnesses the powers of nature, like steam and electricity, revolutionised the economic conditions of India. The rapid means of travel and communication reduced distances, and brought peoples of different parts nearer. The growth of population and the occupation of forests and uninhabited lands increased contact between different parts of the country, and made the realization of the unity of the Indian peoples possible.

Among the moral factors which bring about this transformation are the spread of the idea of nationalism, and the reawakening of the spirit of enquiry and criticism, and of progress and self-assertion. They are the result of contact with the life and ideals of the people of the west, and the study of English literature. Peace, political unity and social equality which Britain maintains through an efficient machinery of administration, and a uniform system of laws, have powerfully assisted the process of change.

The history of this period may be conveniently divided into three parts: (1) from 1818 to 1858, (2) from 1858 to 1919, and (3) from 1919 to 1935. During the first part, the British dominion is completed and the foundations of the system of administration are laid. During the second part, the effects of British rule begin to appear in the form of movements for the achievement of national unity and political, social and religious reforms. During the third part, begins the dawn of self-government.

A. The Rule of the Company, 1818—1858

(i). Changes in the Constitution of the Company

By the Act of 1833, the Company continued as the rulers of the British dominion in India, but ceased to be a trading concern. The Act empowered the Governor-General and his Council to make laws for the people of India. In 1835 the North-West Province (now known as the United Provinces) was separated from Bengal, and a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for its government.

The Act of 1853 made it possible to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. It established a Council of twelve for legislative purposes, consisting of

the Governor-General, the members of his Executive Council and others.

The Act of 1858 vested in the Crown all the territories in the possession, or under the government, of the East India Company. The powers and duties, officers, property and forces of the Company were transferred to the Secretary of State for India, and the Council for India was created to advise and assist him. The appointments of the Governor-General and the other high officers were to be made by the Crown, or by the Secretary of State. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November, 1858, announced the change to the people and princes of India.

(ii). The Administrative Developments

The period from 1818-58 is remarkable for the development of the administrative system, and the establishment of peace and order in place of anarchy and lawlessness. The British conquerors established in India a uniform system of laws and government, and, therefore, created a sense of political unity among the peoples and princes of India. They also introduced beneficent social measures and western education, which stimulated social progress and religious reform. The introduction of railways, telegraphs and posts, and the building of canals and roads laid the foundations of the economic unity of India which prepared a basis for national solidarity. Among the administrators to whom India owes these benefits were Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalfe, who rose to be governors of Indian provinces during the early days of British rule. They developed the land revenue system of the different

provinces, reformed the police and the judiciary, and urged successfully upon the government the desirability of employing Indians in the services.

Lord Amherst (1823-28), who succeeded Lord Hastings, was little fitted for the post of Governor-General, but his successor, **Lord William Bentinck** (1828-35), infused a liberal spirit into the administration. He followed a peaceful policy, effected retrenchments in expenditure and increased the revenue. He reversed the policy of Cornwallis, and adopted the principles of Munro and Metcalfe in the employment of Indians. He reconstructed the administrative machinery and offered to Indians opportunities of service. His measures reduced the cost of administration, decreased crime, and enhanced the efficiency of the government. He introduced social reforms also. **Lord Auckland** (1836-42) was a weak and incapable Governor-General. He took steps to develop the plans of Bentinck, but unfortunately he embroiled the government in Afghan affairs, and his blunders led to disastrous consequences.

Lord Ellenborough (1842-44) held office for only two years and had little opportunity for internal reforms. He abolished slavery.

Lord Hardinge (1844-48) was largely occupied with the Sikh wars, but he effected some improvements in the administration.

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) was a most energetic ruler, and during his period of office every department felt the impulse of his dominating personality.

The Land Revenue Settlements.—The establishment of British rule in the provinces of India raised the problem of land settlements in them. The system of Permanent settlement followed in Bengal was found defective,

and, therefore, in the new territories this system was not introduced. In the Presidency of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro found that under the Indian governments the rulers did not employ zamindars for the collection of revenue, but dealt with the cultivators directly. He maintained the old practice, and did not allow the introduction of intermediaries between the peasants and the government. The land in the possession of each holder was surveyed. It was assessed according to rates which could be revised, and the landholder paid the land revenue directly to the government. This is known as the *Raiyatwari* settlement.

In the Bombay Presidency, Mountstuart Elphinstone followed a similar method. Each field was surveyed, its soils were classified, the rates of assessment were calculated every thirty years, and the occupant of the field had to pay the assessed revenue to the government.

In the Province of Agra, the *Mahalwari* settlement was made. The estate or group of holdings, owned either by a single owner or by a community, is the unit of assessment. The land revenue is payable to the government by the zamindar, or the lambardar, who represents the village community. The rent which the tenant should pay to the zamindar is also settled by the government. The assessment of rent and revenue is revised after every thirty years.

In the Punjab the settlement followed the lines laid down in the Province of Agra. In the other provinces similar systems, with modifications suited to local needs, were introduced.

For the proper working of these systems Boards of Revenue were established under whom the commissioners of revenue and collectors worked. The collectors were

entrusted with judicial and executive duties also. In Madras, however, no commissioners were appointed.

The introduction of systematic settlements in the provinces, and the establishment of administrative institutions to deal with them, put an end to the confusion which had entered into the life of the villagers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. But unfortunately the early assessments were too heavy, and they caused a great deal of distress.

Judicial Administration.—Under the rule of the Company the civil and criminal courts were separately organised. For civil justice each province had a *Sadr Diwani Adalat* which was the highest court of appeal. Under this court were *zilla* and city courts, *sadr amin's* courts and *munsif's* courts. Similarly for criminal justice there was a *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* which heard appeals from the lower courts, among whom were the courts of the sessions judges and magistrates.

In 1833 the right of appeal from these courts to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in England was accorded. The system of old village Panchayats was also maintained as far as possible.

(iii). Benevolent Measures

1. Education.—Warren Hastings had established in 1781, the Calcutta Madrasa for the higher education of the Muslims. The Sanskrit College was established at Benares in 1791 by Duncan. Before the close of the eighteenth century the missionaries of Serampur (near Calcutta) had spread a number of schools. In 1800, the Fort William College was founded by Wellesley for the Civil Service. In 1813 the East India Company sanctioned a grant of one lakh of rupees for educational

purposes, and a number of schools and colleges were started in Calcutta. In 1823, Pandit Gangadhar Shastri opened the Agra College, and then the Elphinstone College came into existence at Bombay. Medical and Engineering colleges, and colleges for oriental studies were also established.

In 1835 the controversy between those who desired the government to help in the expansion of oriental learning only, and the others who wanted to teach Indians western subjects of study came to an end. Bentinck and Macaulay made up their minds to create a class, " Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." The spread of western culture became the fixed policy of the government.

In 1844 it was decided that English education was necessary for employment in government service.

In 1854 the Directors of the Company sent orders for the reorganisation of education. Accordingly, a Department of Public Instruction was established in each province, and primary schools where instruction was imparted through Indian languages, and secondary schools where English and other subjects were taught, were opened.

2. **Prohibition of Sati.**—In 1829 the practice of *Sati* was declared a crime. Although many attempts had previously been made by the rulers of India to stop the immolation of widows, the practice continued and at this period was spreading. Lord Bentinck took the advice of the leading Hindu reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Rai, and made the burning or burying alive of widows illegal.

3. **Suppression of Thagi.**—The Thugs were bands of plunderers and marauders who had become a terror to the peace of India. The roads were insecure

as there was not an efficient system of police, and the disbandment of the armies of the Indian princes and the general state of unsettlement following upon the British conquest, had given opportunities to desperate men to form societies to carry on their evil purposes. Bentinck took strong measures to suppress the Thugs, and by 1837 most of them had been disposed of.

4. Abolition of Slavery and Human Sacrifices.— In 1843, Ellenborough prohibited the legal recognition of slavery in India. Hardinge, his successor, suppressed female infanticide and the human sacrifices which prevailed in certain parts of India among the primitive tribes.

5. Public Works.—Auckland took preliminary steps to create great works of irrigation, Hardinge designed the opening of the Ganges Canal, and Dalhousie gave much attention to the irrigation canals.

Dalhousie constituted the Public Works Department for undertaking and supervising public works, *e.g.*, canals, roads, and railways. The Grand Trunk Road was built and the system of railways was sketched. The first railway line between Bombay and Thana was opened in 1853. The electric telegraph system was also founded, and the postal system was improved.

The effect of the measures of social reform was wholly good. The public works, especially the railways, telegraphs and posts, have had a tremendous influence upon the destinies of India. Their introduction made the unification of India possible.

(iv). The Economic Decline of India

The early history of the British rule in India has two aspects. The benevolent measures of the British Government have been described above, but the

British conquest had an opposite aspect also. The rule of India fell into the hands of a trading corporation whose object was the making of profit. The officers of the Company were merchants who regarded their own interests as paramount, and who paid little heed to the interests of the millions whom they had brought under subjection.

The result of the selfish policy of the Company was that Indian trade and industry declined, the revenues of India were utilised in paying dividends to the shareholders of the Company, and much wealth was annually drained from the country. India was the home of many industries before the British conquest. Its cotton and silk fabrics were famous throughout the world. The crafts of weaving and spinning, of metal work in gold, silver, iron, copper and brass, of paper manufacture, leather work, stone-cutting, pottery, carpet-making, dyeing, perfumery, etc., were extensively practised. These industries brought much profit to the Indian workmen. Indian agriculture, when not burdened with heavy assessments, was capable of supplying all the needs of the Indian population, and India produced indigo, tobacco, sugar, opium, salt, coffee and spices. Unfortunately the policy of the Company contributed to the decay of the Indian manufactures, and the decline of the spirit of industrial enterprise. While heavy and almost prohibitive duties were imposed on the importations of Indian goods to England, India was compelled to receive British goods at merely nominal duties.

Another important factor working in the same direction was the incapacity of the Indian artizans and craftsmen to compete with the manufacturers of England. The Industrial Revolution had completely

changed the methods of production in the west, with the result that Indian goods produced in the homes of the artizans with primitive tools, could not compete with the goods produced on a large scale in factories by means of powerful machines worked with steam. The Indian internal trade also suffered on account of inland duties which the British inherited from their predecessors, but which they realized with greater strictness. The duties gave a large revenue to the Company which was not willing to sacrifice it, although they had a bad effect on India's material welfare and the morals of the Indian traders and Company's officers. Some of the inland duties were abolished by William Bentinck and Auckland.

(v). Wars, Conquests and Annexations

Lord Hastings' conquests had made the British supreme in India. On the north-west the boundary of the British dominion was extended to the Sutlaj river, the Bahawalpur state and the desert bordering on Rajputana. Beyond this frontier lay the states of the Punjab and Sindh, and further on Afghanistan. The problem before the British Government was to secure friendly relations with them and to bring them within the sphere of British influence. The British Government was much exercised by the rapid growth of the Russian power in Central Asia. It was afraid of Russia's encroachments towards India, and did not want the frontier states to fall under Russian influence.

On the east the Burmese kingdom, with its capital at Ava, exercised sway over the Trans-gangetic peninsula. The Burmese had conquered Arakan, Manipur and Assam, and their boundaries marched with those of the

British dominion. The inhabitants of Arakan, known as Maghs, migrated in large numbers to Chittagong, and their activities caused friction between the British and the Burmese.

Within the British territories there were numerous Indian states which enjoyed a certain amount of independence in the control of their internal affairs, but were under the subordination of the supreme power. The administration of some of the rulers was inefficient, and as their position was secured by treaties with the British, they neglected the welfare of their subjects.

The First Burmese War.—The Burmese were the eastern neighbours of British India. When the Burmese conquered Assam the British were seriously alarmed. In 1823-24 they made incursions on Kachar. Thereupon the British declared war and occupied Rangoon. They defeated and killed the Burmese general, Bandula, and dictated the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826. The territories of Arakan, Tenasserim, Assam, Kachar, Jaintia and Manipur were annexed.

The Second Burmese War.—The Treaty of Yandabo increased the Burmese dislike of the British. Little incidents led Dalhousie to send an ultimatum to the king at Ava. Before the reply could come war was declared, and the British forces were despatched to Rangoon in 1852. Rangoon, Martaban, Prome and Pegu in Lower Burma were occupied, but Northern Burma was left under its own rulers.

Afghanistan, Russia and Persia.—During the Napoleonic wars the Russians had started their advance in the East. In 1826 they defeated the Persians and acquired great influence in that country. The British, deprived of their influence in Persia, turned their attention

to Afghanistan which they desired to use as a barrier against a Russian invasion. But Afghanistan was at this time in a state of turmoil. The Durrani dynasty founded by Ahmad Shah had been expelled from Kabul and Ghazni by Dost Muhammad, a chief of the Barakzai clan. Shah Shuja, the Durrani claimant to the throne, had taken refuge in India, although some Durrani chiefs continued to hold Herat and Kandahar.

In 1837 the Persians, aided by the Russians, advanced upon Herat and besieged it. Dost Muhammad asked help from the British, but they refused and he turned for assistance to the Russians. Then Lord Auckland made up his mind to interfere. He sent a naval force into the Persian Gulf, which frightened the Shah of Persia and obliged him to raise the siege of Herat. He then determined to depose Dost Muhammad and to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. He entered into a treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, by which the Maharaja agreed to co-operate with the British to restore Shah Shuja.

The First Afghan War.—The British forces were sent through Sindh. Kandahar and Ghazni were captured. Dost Muhammad fled from Kabul, and Shah Shuja entered the city with the British forces in 1839. The British, however, failed to establish the authority of. Shah Shuja. In the winter of 1841 the Afghans rose in revolt and murdered Burnes and Macnaghten, two British officers. Dost Muhammad's son, Akbar Khan, assumed the leadership of the Afghans, and they forced the British to leave Kabul. The British retreat was disastrous, for only a single survivor out of the whole force reached Jalalabad.

Lord Ellenborough, who had now taken charge of



DURBAR OF RANJIT SINGH.

the Government of India, sent Generals Pollock and Nott (1842) to retrieve the disaster. The two forces advanced upon Kabul from two directions, and after rescuing the English prisoners and restoring British prestige, came back to India through the Khaibar. Dost Muhammad returned to Kabul and re-occupied the throne. The First Afghan War was a wholly unnecessary attempt to deprive a ruler of his throne, and it brought upon the British forces severe reverses which greatly lowered the military reputation of the British in the East.

The Conquest of Sindh.—Sindh was under the rule of the Amirs of Talpur who were divided into the three branches of Hyderabad, Mirpur and Khairpur. The British had begun relations with them in 1809, and had entered into treaties guaranteeing the integrity of their territories. When Auckland made the foolish resolve to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, he sent the British forces to Afghanistan through Sindh in violation of the treaties. Lord Ellenborough wanted to restore the fame of the British power by some deed of conquest. He also regarded the annexation of Sindh necessary for the purposes of British commerce, and the protection of the British Indian frontier. He deliberately provoked a war with the Amirs and sent Sir Charles Napier to execute his designs. Napier goaded the Balochi Amirs into an insurrection which was used as an excuse for the conquest. The forces of the Amirs were crushed at Miani and Dabo and the province was annexed in 1843.

The Conquest of the Punjab.—Maharaja Ranjit Singh continued to rule over his dominions with great distinction until his death in 1839. He was a strong, far-sighted and just ruler. He had united the scattered *misals*

of the Sikh confederacy, and he had saved the peasantry and people of the Punjab from the terrible menace of invasions of the Afghans from the north-west and of the Marathas from the south. He had raised a powerful and well-disciplined army, and established an orderly administration. Unfortunately, the rule of Ranjit Singh was the personal rule of a benevolent autocrat, and not a rule which was based on the will of the whole people. The result was that on the removal of his masterful personality by death, the forces of disorder were let loose and the Sikh power broke up.

Kharak Singh, his son, was a feeble and unworthy successor, and died in a few months. Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, was then proclaimed Maharaja by a section of the army. The state fell into confusion and party feuds arose. The British watched these developments with interest. They were determined that the government in the Punjab " must be Sikh and it must be strong, or we must be in the Punjab ourselves." The designs of the British made the Sikhs suspicious, and the conduct of some British officers irritated them. The interference of the British Government in their internal affairs made them still more distrustful, although during the campaigns of the British army in Afghanistan the Sikhs had rendered valuable help to the British for which Ellenborough had given them thanks.

In 1843 Sher Singh was murdered, and Dalip Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, was proclaimed king under the care of his mother, Rani Jhindan Kaur. A struggle for obtaining the regency and the office of Wazir arose between various Sikh chiefs. But the army, which was now controlled by its own *Panchayats,* became all powerful. It was not well disposed towards the British

as it suspected them of entertaining designs of conquest, and therefore, when the British Government took measures to strengthen the forts and garrisons on the Sutlaj, the Sikhs became alarmed. The proceedings of the British agent at Lahore were so provoking that the Sikhs were convinced that war was inevitable, and when the British occupied the Sikh villages near Ludhiana and thus laid hands on the dominion of the Khalsa, the army could not restrain itself any more. They crossed the Sutlaj and the First Sikh War commenced in the winter of 1845.

The First Sikh War.—The treachery of the Sikh leaders betrayed the army. The soldiers fought with the courage of heroes and with the discipline of veterans, but their commanders were resolved upon their destruction and they deliberately led them on to death and disaster. At Mudki, Pheerushah, Aliwal and Sobraon they suffered defeats which covered the privates with glory and the officers with eternal disgrace.

After these victories the British advanced upon Lahore, and the Sikhs made a treaty by which they ceded the Jullundar Doab and all territories on the left bank of the Sutlaj. They had also to pay a huge indemnity, and agree to the reduction of the army and the appointment of a British resident at the capital. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had co-operated with the British, paid a greater part of the indemnity and obtained the principality of Kashmir and Jammu, which was separated from the Sikh state.

The Second Sikh War.—The situation created by the treaty was unstable—the British had not annexed the country, but they had left little independence to the

Sikhs. It was impossible for such a position to be permanent. A little incident led to an outbreak. General Mulraj, who was the Diwan of Multan, had not properly rendered the accounts of his province and he was recalled. He refused to give up the office, the Sikh army sided with him, and the British resident sent his forces to besiege Multan. Some Sikh Sardars rose in revolt against the authorities. Lord Dalhousie declared war on the state of Lahore and sent General Gough to occupy the country. He fought a drawn battle with the Sikhs at Chillianwala, but decisively defeated them at Gujarat. The Punjab was annexed (1849) and Maharaja Dalip Singh was deposed. The administration of the province was placed in charge of a board of three commissioners who disarmed the Sikhs and established peace.

(vi). The Indian States

The policy of Lord Wellesley towards the Indian rulers was one of subsidiary alliances. In accordance with this policy an Indian state was required to give up its independence, become subordinate to the British Government, and recognise it as the suzerain. The state was prohibited from entering into any alliance either with an Indian or a foreign power, but its authority within its own isolated territory was secured under the protection of the British Government. For this purpose the state had to pay a subsidy for the maintenance of a contingent of the British army trained and commanded by British officers.

The policy of non-intervention followed by the successors of Wellesley was necessitated by financial considerations; as soon, therefore, as the need

for economy was removed, non-intervention was given up. When Lord Hastings became the Governor-General he reversed the policy of non-intervention and revived Wellesley's policy. By wars against the Marathas, the Pindharees and the Gurkhas, and by treaties with other Indian princes, he consolidated the British dominions, established the supremacy of the British in India, and made the Indian rulers subordinate allies.

The states which thus entered into the relation of subordinate alliance with the British were of varying sizes and were scattered all over India. A large number was grouped in Rajputana and Central India. Besides them, the individual important states were Satara, Nagpur, Hyderabad and Mysore in the Deccan, Travancore and Cochin in the extreme south, Baroda in the west and Oudh in the north.

Lord Amherst made no change in the policy of Lord Hastings. During his period of office he interfered in the affairs of Bharatpur where a dispute had arisen regarding succession to the throne. Raja Baldeo Singh was recognised by the British, but his cousin, Durjan Sal, opposed him and defied the suzerain power. The British commander-in-chief overcame the resistance and captured the fort in 1826. Durjan Sal was deported.

Lord William Bentinck came out to India with instructions not to interfere, and he mainly complied with the orders. Only in the case of Mysore, where the affairs of the state had been badly mismanaged, the administration was taken over in 1832. The states of Coorg, near Mysore, and of Jaintia and Cachar in Assam, were annexed. But to the rulers of the other states, where the affairs were not conducted properly, the

Governor-General only sent letters of admonition. Bentinck contented himself with reforms in the British territories, and so long as peace was not disturbed he did not feel called upon to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.

Lord Auckland busied himself with Afghan affairs and paid little attention to the Indian states. During Ellenborough's term the state of Gwalior invited the attention of the government. Troubles had arisen in consequence of disputes regarding the regency. The army had assumed authority and its attitude gave alarm. In 1843, the Governor-General made up his mind to disband the army and crossed the Chambal with the British forces. The state troops were defeated at Maharajpur and Panniar, and were broken up. The territories of Gwalior were left practically intact, but the old treaties were revised. The state army was reduced, and a British contingent was established.

Lord Hardinge was mostly occupied with the First Sikh War, and there is little to record about his dealings with the Indian states.

Lord Dalhousie, who came out in 1848, was a great believer in the superiority of western civilisation and the blessings of British rule, and he desired to sweep away the Indian states. He regarded them as inefficient, unprogressive and incapable of improvement. In order to put an end to their existence he applied the Doctrine of Lapse wherever he could. According to this doctrine, the states which owed their existence to the British lapsed to the sovereign power in case of the failure of natural heirs. The doctrine was opposed to the Hindu rule of adoption under which an adopted heir has the same rights as a natural heir. Lord Dalhousie refused

permission to adopt heirs to the states which had come into existence during the British period, or had been spared by the British when there was an opportunity to annex them. He applied his doctrine to the principalities whose rulers died without natural heirs. They were Satara, Jaitpur (in Bundelkhand), Sambalpur (in Central Provinces), Baghat, Udaypur (in Central India), Jhansi and Nagpur. Their territories were incorporated in the British dominion.

Dalhousie also abolished the titles of the Nawab of Karnatak, of the Raja of Tanjore and of the Peshwa, and declared that on the death of Bahadur Shah the title of the Mughal Emperor would also lapse.

But the measure which caused the greatest resentment was the annexation of Oudh. Since the time of Shuja-ud-Daulah, who had signed the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, Oudh had been an ally of the British. Successive Governors-General had reduced the independence of the Nawab, and imposed heavy burdens upon the principality. The result was that financial disorders increased and the government became inefficient. The rulers, feeling secure under the guarantee of British protection, lost all incentive to good government and fell into evil habits. Lord Wellesley had deprived the Nawab in 1801 of a large part of his territories, disbanded his military establishment and rendered him absolutely powerless. Lord Hastings obtained two crores of rupees from Nawab Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar and allowed him to assume the title of Shah. But in spite of the continued loyalty of the Shahs, and in spite of the treaties, the British Government determined to annex the principality on the ground of misrule. King Wajid Ali Shah was called upon to sign a treaty surrendering his kingdom. On his refusal

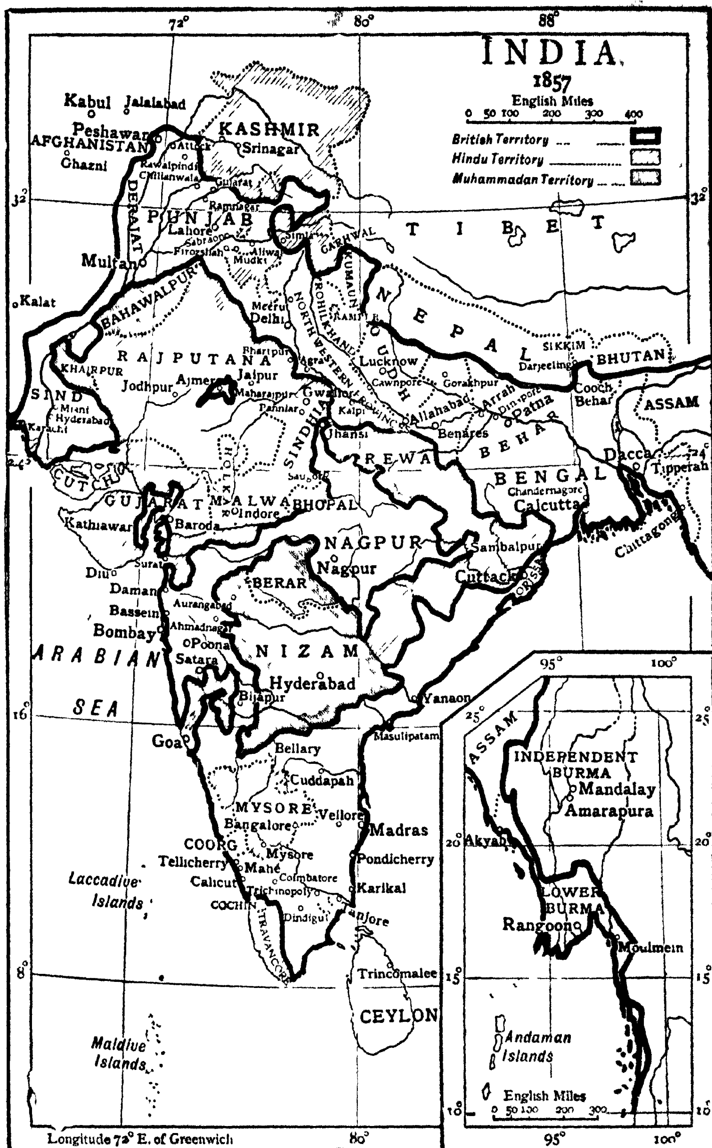
the British Government assumed the administration, pensioned the king and transferred him to Calcutta in 1856.

The Nizam of Hyderabad had much trouble with the British on account of financial transactions. The payment of the subsidy for the British contingent at Hyderabad had fallen in arrears, and Dalhousie forced the Nizam in 1853, to place the administration of Berar under British control so that its revenues might pay for the upkeep of the contingent.

Thus, between 1818 and 1858, the semi-independent Indian states were reduced to complete impotence. Some of the largest states were incorporated into British India, and the others were made wholly subservient to the paramount power. The masterful activity of Dalhousie so terrified them that even the shock of the mutiny did not subvert their acquiescence in British supremacy.

(vii). The Indian Revolt and the Mutiny of Indian Troops

When Dalhousie left India in 1856, he did not suspect that a storm was brewing, and that there was cause for alarm concerning British power in India. Yet a year had scarcely elapsed after **Lord Canning's** assumption of his charge that the storm burst, and the country was plunged in disorder. In order to understand the causes of the rising which took place in 1857, it is necessary to remember that the character of the dominion established by the British in India differed from that of all the previous conquerors of India. The British conquest was a complete displacement of the old political order. It excluded Indians wholly from the exercise of influence



Emery Walker sc.

upon the policy of the government, and placed the destiny of India entirely in the hands of the people of Great Britain. The Indians were excluded from all posts of power and responsibility, and were only employed in subordinate appointments. Thus they were left without any opportunities to achieve honour or glory in the service of their country, and without any means to realize their natural ambitions. Then, again, the people were practically disarmed and regarded as inferior to the conquerors. These disabilities hurt the pride of the Indian ruling classes whose political privileges were abolished, and they were further offended by the treatment meted out to the Mughal Emperor, the Shah of Oudh, the Peshwa, and the Rajas of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi.

Other causes combined to produce general discontent. The immediate economic consequences of the conquest were the drain of wealth and the decay of Indian industry and commerce. Not only were men thrown out of employment from the military and administrative departments by the conquest, but many artizans, craftsmen, merchants and bankers were ruined, for new avenues of employment and business were slow to open.

The impact of western civilisation, which the British brought with them, threatened to overthrow the culture which the people had long cherished. Education was passing out of the hands of the Pandits and Maulvis into the hands of the British educationists. An education of a type entirely different in principles was taking the place of the old one, and the old customs and institutions, whether good or bad, were wholly disregarded. This created a two-fold difficulty. The social superiority of

the classes which dominated Indian society was overthrown, and the British, who were an alien people, acquired this status. In the second place, the advance of the new culture appeared to hold out a menace to religion. The minds of the common people were naturally much agitated.

The political conditions created an atmosphere of general uneasiness. The Indian troops had special grievances of their own which were connected with the conditions of their service, *e.g.*, low pay, slow promotion and limited prospects. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the issue of cartridges which were believed to be greased with the fat of cows and pigs. This excited the Hindu and the Muslim troops to fury, and they determined to rise and overthrow the British whom they regarded as the enemies of their faith. The situation seemed favourable, for the number of European troops in India was greatly reduced at this moment, and the prestige of the British army had been much lowered by the recent disasters in the Crimea.

The rising was confined to three regions only—Delhi and its environs, Agra and Oudh, and Central India. Although a few individuals joined it here and there, all the other parts of India remained quiet. The rising was not a general revolt on the part of the Indian people, for they had not yet acquired the sense of unity. It was confined to soldiers, landlords, and princes—the representatives of a dying system. The old Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, was chosen as the nominal head of the movement which had little of concerted action, organisation or plan. It was fore-doomed to failure. The presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and the province of the Punjab showed no enthusiasm for it, and

the Sikhs, the Gurkhas and the Indian states actively opposed it and fought for the British.

The first outbreak took place at Meerut on 10th May, 1857. "Then followed deeds of horror and cruelty on one side as on the other which need not be narrated." The military operations were directed against the cities of Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore and the countries of Rohilkhand and Central India. The city of Delhi was captured with the help of the Sikhs, and the Emperor Bahadur Shah was deposed and exiled to Rangoon. Lucknow offered a long and stout resistance, but ultimately fell into the hands of the commander-in-chief who, with the help of the Gurkhas, subjugated Oudh. Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib, son of Baji Rao II, was in command, was occupied by the British forces easily, but was lost and recovered again. In Rohilkhand the son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan was proclaimed governor, but he retained his power for only a year, when Bareilly was occupied and Rohilkhand subdued. In Central India, Jhansi and Gwalior were the main centres of revolt. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Tantia Topi defied the British for a long time, but at last the Rani was killed while fighting bravely at the head of her troops, and Tantia was taken prisoner and executed. By 1859 peace was established and then gradually order was restored.

With the end of the Indian revolt vanished the dream of the revival of the old political system of an imperial autocracy, based on the support of the military chiefs. It was impossible for India to look back. But the revolt brought about a change in the British system of administration also, for it swept away "the unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration of the East India Company." The Government of India was transferred

from the Company to the Crown by the Act of 1858, and the Secretary of State for India took over the charge from the President of the Board of Control. On 1st November, 1858, the Queen's Proclamation, read in a great Durbar held at Allahabad, announced the change to the people of India.

B. India under the Crown, 1858—1919

The Modern Age of Indian history is remarkable for the great changes which have occurred in the life of the people. In the Pre-historic Age, India became inhabited with the races whose progress forms the material of our history. In the Age of Aryan Settlements the culture which dominated our country throughout its history fixed its stamp upon our life and institutions. In the Ancient Age this culture spread over the whole country, and thus the foundations of our destined unity were laid. The aspiration for unity, however, did not find permanent embodiment in society and state, for the divisions of provinces, tribes and castes could not be merged into the idea of a whole. The propagation of the Buddhist and Jaina faiths, and the establishment of empires like those of Asoka, Chandragupta II and Harsha, however, pointed to this goal.

During the Middle Age a step further towards unification was taken. The empires of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal rulers created a lasting sense of political unity, supported by the growth of a civilisation which became common to the peoples of India. The artists, poets and saints of India were the expression of this unity. Society felt the impulse of the change. Racial divisions received a definite set-back and began to merge

into social divisions—classes and castes. Our economic life also showed an advance, for although the unity of the country for all trades and industries was not realised, India became a single market for precious and light articles.

In the Modern Age the conquest of India by the British and the establishment of the British administration, have provided those conditions in which the realization of unity has become possible. The history of the period from 1858 to 1919 is concerned with the rapid growth of the consciousness of national unity. The divisions based on caste begin to lose their rigours, and the old distinctions of race and tribe to disappear. It is true that the communal differences are accentuated, but at the same time the ties of neighbourliness grow stronger, and the sentiment that all those who live in India belong to one society makes its appearance. The feeling was first awakened among the educated classes and in the cities, but it has rapidly spread into wider circles. With its diffusion it has grown deeper, stronger and richer, and its triumph as the most potent motive of conduct after religion seems assured. The sentiment of nationalism gives a new impulse to the development of society. In the place of divided and scattered centres of life, India begins to possess more and more an organic wholeness. The spirit of progress moves society to reform its religious, economic and political life, and it finds expression in literature, science and art.

The growth of nationalism affects the nature and the activity of the government. At the beginning of the period the British government is solely responsible to the British people from whom it draws its power. As time passes, the government realizes that the opinion of the ruled ought to be recognised and should

influence its decisions, and as the national consciousness becomes more widely diffused, the natural desire that the government should be responsible to the people arises and the movement for the establishment of Swaraj becomes stronger.

Thus, the history of the period has three aspects. In one aspect, it is the history of the British government, that is, the history of the development of the administrative system, of the activities of the administration in the different fields, and of the relations of the government with the powers on the frontiers of India. In the second aspect, it is the history of the social changes which occur as a result either of the action of the government or of the people themselves. In the third aspect, it is the history of the political advance which takes place along with the growth of nationalism.

(i). The Constitutional and Administrative Developments

The Act of 1858 vested the final responsibility for the administration of India in the Secretary of State, who is a member of the British Cabinet and is answerable for his measures and policies to the British Parliament. It also established the Council of India to assist and advise him. The Council consisted of a number of members appointed by the Crown and possessing Indian experience. The assent of the Council was necessary in financial matters, but otherwise its decisions were not binding on the Secretary of State.

Later Acts reduced the control of the Council and concentrated power in the hands of the Secretary of

State. In 1907 Lord Morley, then Secretary of State, added two Indian members to the Council.

The Act of 1858 made no change in the system of government in India. Under the general superintendence and direction of the Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India is responsible for the government of India, and he controls the civil and military administration. Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the laying of the telegraph cable through the Red Sea in 1870, the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India has tended to grow greater.

The Governor-General is assisted by an Executive Council which, in 1858, consisted of four ordinary members, with the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member. In 1861 the number of ordinary members was raised to five and in 1874 to six. Each member was placed in charge of a department and was empowered to settle all petty matters. More important matters were discussed in the Council which ordinarily met once in every week under the presidency of the Governor-General, who had the power to overrule the decisions of the Council in certain cases. Gradually the Executive Council has lost its powers and they have become concentrated in the Viceroy, who consults the governors of the provinces on all important affairs. In 1909 Mr. Sinha (afterwards Lord Sinha), an Indian, was first appointed to the Executive Council.

Below the Government of India are the provincial governments. From 1858 to 1918, there were two kinds of provinces: (1) Regulation, and (2) Non-regulation, which differed in their systems of laws and organisation.

Some provincial governments had at their head Governors and others Lieutenant-Governors; the first type possessed greater freedom and power than the second. These distinctions were abolished in 1918. The provincial governments were required to obey the orders of the Governor-General in Council and keep him informed of their proceedings. Thus authority was centralised in the Government of India.

The Governor-General administers some areas directly through Chief Commissioners. The areas so administered are the principal non-regulation areas.

Constitutional Changes.—The supreme authority for law-making for India is the British Parliament. In 1853, the British Government delegated subordinate powers to the Governor-General's Council to make laws, and added six members to the Council for legislative purposes. In 1861, the Imperial Legislative Council was re-organised. It consisted of the Executive Council of the Viceroy together with not less than six or more than twelve additional members. In this Council non-officials were first introduced as members nominated by the Governor-General, and among them were three Indians—the Maharaja of Patiala, the Raja of Benares and Sir Dinkar Rao (the chief minister of the Holkar State). Afterwards Indians were chosen not only from among the Indian States, but also from British India and from among retired officials, lawyers, etc. Under the Act of 1861, provincial legislative councils were established in Bengal, Bombay and Madras (1862), and in the N. W. P. (1886).

In 1892, an Act was passed by Parliament which

raised the number of additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council from the minimum of six to ten and the maximum from twelve to sixteen. It enabled the Council to discuss the estimates of revenue and expenditure of the government, and ask questions regarding the affairs of administration. It also provided for the election of members to the Indian Legislative Council through the provincial legislative councils.

The number of members of provincial councils was also increased, and provision was made for the election of some of them through municipal and district boards and universities. Provincial councils were established in the United Provinces in 1886, but in the Punjab and other provinces later.

In 1909, the Councils were again reformed. The additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council were increased to sixty, of them twenty-seven were to be elected, some through special electorates, *e.g.*, the Muslims and zemindars, and others by the non-official members of the provincial councils.

In the provincial councils similar changes were made, and in them the principle that the majority of members should be non-official was conceded. Their scope and functions were also enlarged.

The result of the changes was not the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, but they did constitute a step forward on the road to responsible government.

In 1919, when Mr. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy, more important political changes were introduced and the legislatures were reformed. For the first time the British Parliament accepted the principle that power

should be transferred to the people. But the Act of 1919 applied the principle to the provincial governments only. Their functions were divided into two parts, called transferred and reserved subjects, respectively.

The Act made the provincial governments independent of the control of the Government of India in legislative and administrative matters affecting the transferred subjects, for in them responsibility was transferred to the provincial legislative councils.

The Executive Government of the province was divided into two parts, one part comprising the Governor as the head of the province and the members of his Executive Council in charge of the reserved subjects, and the second part comprising the Governor with the ministers who hold charge of the transferred subjects. The Governor and the Executive Councillors are appointed by the Crown for five years. The Governor appoints the ministers from the elected members of the council, but they hold office so long only as they retain the confidence of the Council.

The provincial legislative councils are composed of members of the Governor's Executive Council and the nominated and elected members; not more than twenty per cent of the members are officials and at least seventy per cent are elected.

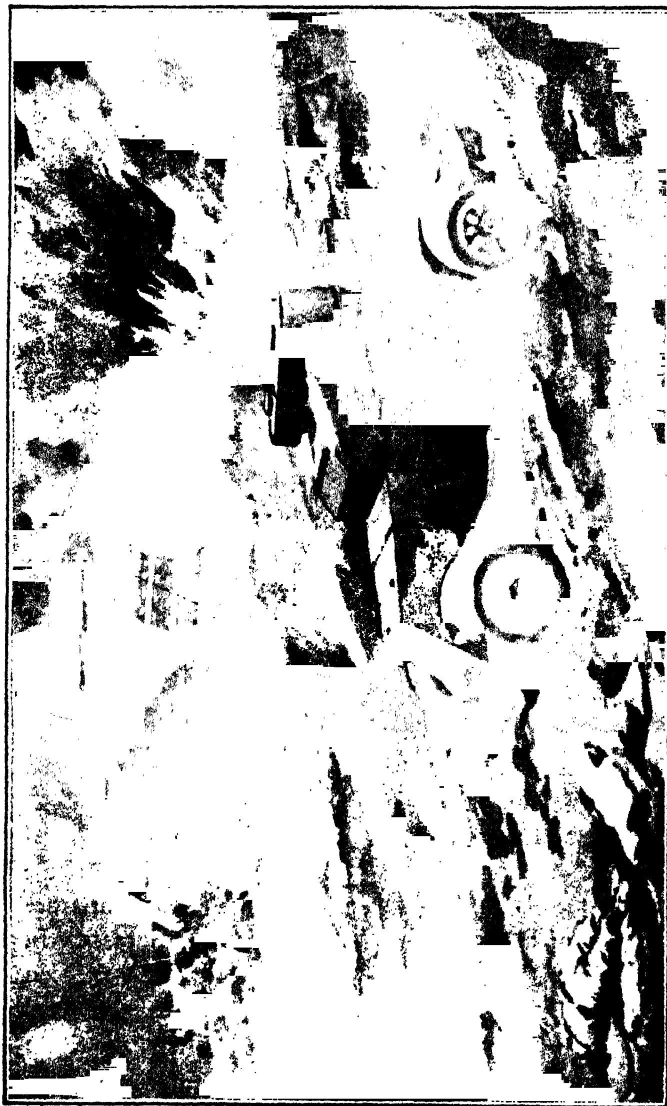
The total number of members differs in the different provinces, Bengal having the largest and the Central Provinces the smallest number. Special representation has been given to the communities and to the special classes. The powers and privileges of the legislatures were extended in financial, legislative and administrative matters. The reserved subjects remain under the authority of the British Parliament, but the transferred

subjects have been made amenable to the authority of the people, who control them through their representatives in the Council. Among the transferred subjects are education, industry, local self-government, sanitation and health, excise and agriculture.

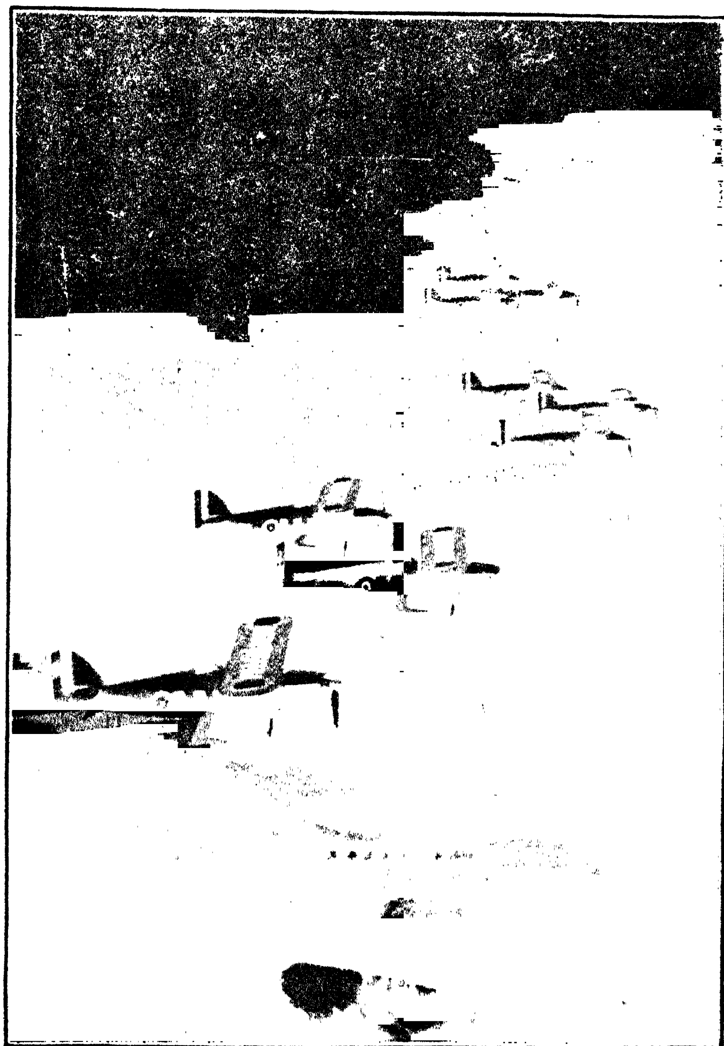
The Imperial Legislative Council was replaced by a Legislature consisting of two houses, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State has 60 members of whom 33 are elected and 27 nominated—mostly officials. The Legislative Assembly consists of 145 members, of whom 104 are elected and the rest nominated. The Indian Legislature so constituted is a law-making body subordinate to the British Parliament.

Law and Justice.—The judicial system was re-organised during this period. Before 1858, the laws which were administered were of a varied type—the English laws, the Hindu and the Muslim laws, the ancient customs and regulations. Afterwards laws were made uniform and codified. The Indian Penal Code was adopted in 1861. The codes were revised from time to time as need for change arose. The different systems of courts were replaced by the new system in 1861. High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and later at Allahabad and in other provinces, and the old *Sadr Adalats* and the Supreme Courts were abolished. The High Courts are courts of appeal for both civil and criminal cases. In certain matters appeals may be made from their decision to the King's Privy Council in England.

The Public Services.—The Secretary of State was empowered in 1858 to regulate appointments to the public services. The principle that appointments should



THE ARMOURED CAR AND THE TANK



A FIGHTER SQUADRON R.A.F.

(*From Sim's "British Aviation."*)

be made to the Indian Civil Service by means of a competitive examination in London was recognised in 1853 and was re-affirmed in 1858. In 1863 the first Indian succeeded in the examination, but the number of Indians entering the service in this way remained small. Later, rules were made by which Indians could be appointed as statutory civil servants without an examination. The statutory civil service was abolished in 1888.

The public services consist of three branches—superior, provincial and subordinate. In the superior branch, the Indian Civil Service is the most important, for the general work of administration including justice has been entrusted to it. It has shaped the policy of the government, for all the important offices involving superior control have been held by its members.

The Army.—On the transfer of the government of India to the Crown in 1858, the reorganisation of the Indian army was carried out. The Company's European troops were transferred to the service of the Crown, and thus all troops became the servants of the Crown. The number of Indian troops was greatly reduced, so that the proportion of British to Indian troops came to one-half. The artillery was made over to the charge of the British. The armies were organised separately for the three presidencies till 1895, when they were placed under a single control. In 1907, the army was reorganised on such a basis as would suit the conditions of war. Since 1893 the recruitment of Indians for the army has been restricted more and more to what are called the martial races, so that now the Punjabis, Sikhs and Gurkhas constitute the largest part.

The Commander-in-Chief is the sole authority for



BATTLESHIP "RAMILLIES" (right); LIGHT CRUISER "HAWKINS" (left); DESTROYER "VANOC" (middle).

the administration of the army under the Government of India. The higher officers hold their commission from the King, whether they command British or Indian troops. In 1917, Indian officers were made eligible for the King's Commission for the first time. The Indian officers of the Indian troops hold the Viceroy's Commission, which ranks lower than the King's Commission.

(ii). The Domestic Policy of the Government of India

Having traced the development of the administrative system, it is necessary to relate the activities of the government in the domestic affairs of India.

In the Middle Ages, whether in the west or in the east, the main duty of the government was the maintenance of peace and order within, and the defence of the country from invaders from without. In modern times, governments are expected to undertake many additional activities. Besides maintaining military forces for defence and public services for administration, they are requir d to promote the material and moral welfare of the people. They are required to devise policies for increasing the wealth of the country by encouraging agriculture, industry and commerce, and developing easy and cheap means of transport and communication. They are required to advance material well-being by protecting the people from famine, pestilence and disease, and from the sale of dangerous drugs, from the improper distribution of the necessaries of life, like water, salt, etc. They are required to take measures for the removal of ignorance, and for the spread of education, for the training of people in the ways of self-help and self-government, and for the development of those qualities

of mind and character which are necessary for securing the happiness of man and of society.

Financial Administration.—Finance is the basis of governmental activities and of national well-being. The life of the people is deeply affected by the objects on which governments spend money and by the methods of their expenditure; it is equally affected by the means which they employ to collect revenues, and by the amount of taxes which they collect.

On the transfer of the government of India to the Crown in 1858, the system of financial administration was modified. In the first place, the expenditure of Indian revenues was brought under the control of the Secretary of State with his Council, and the Government of India was left with limited powers of incurring expenses. In India, the old system was replaced by an organisation which followed the British model. A separate finance minister was first appointed in 1859 to control all receipts and disbursements, and finances were centralised by making the provincial governments merely agents of the central government. The system of preparing budgets was introduced. James Wilson, who was the first Finance Member of the Government of India, introduced a proper classification of the items of the budget, laid down the principles of taxation, and introduced the income-tax as a source of revenue of the state. In 1881, Sir Evelyn Baring, the Finance Member of Lord Ripon, made important changes in the keeping of the accounts. A Controller and Auditor-General was placed at the head of the accounts department to check and scrutinise the accounts. This system has continued without much modification since then.

Financial Decentralisation.—In 1858 the centralised

system of finance was established. The Imperial Government controlled the smallest details of every branch of the expenditure. But the system was unsuited to the needs of a country so large as India and possessing diversities of social and economic conditions. The Imperial Government found itself incapable of dealing with the growing complexities of the administration, and found their agents, the provincial governments, becoming lax, extravagant, and improvident. In 1870, therefore, Lord Mayo, drew up a scheme of financial decentralisation by which certain heads of expenditure could be entrusted to the provincial governments for which grants were made from the revenues of India. The scheme worked well and it was extended, with modifications, by Lord Lytton in 1877. He assigned to the provincial governments a share of certain heads of revenues to meet the expenses of the province, and made the arrangement revisable every five years. Sir Evelyn Baring made further changes in 1882. Certain heads of income were made wholly provincial, and certain others were divided between the imperial and provincial governments in varying proportions so that the provinces could meet their ordinary expenses and introduce necessary improvements. Thus the provincial governments obtained a certain measure of independence from the imperial control.

In 1904, the problem of provincial finance received the attention of Lord Curzon. He laid down the principles for a new settlement by which the provincial governments were given a more permanent interest in their revenue and expenditure. The heads of revenues were divided in stated proportions between the two. As regards the expenditure, the imperial revenues paid the expenses connected with the items of imperial concern,

and the provincial revenues were made responsible for expenditure incurred within the province for the general administration. Thus, the needs of the province and of the development of the nation-building departments were recognised in determining the assignments of revenue. The settlement was made permanent instead of being five-yearly.

In 1912, the defects of the system of 1904 were further removed by converting fixed assignments into shares of revenue. The provincial governments were not allowed to raise new taxes and loans, but the Imperial Government expressed its willingness to make grants to meet projects of great local utility. The control of the Imperial Government was reduced.

The Government of India Act of 1919 granted financial independence to the provinces, and entirely separated the resources of the central government from those of the provinces. The system of divided heads of revenue was abolished, and with it disappeared the scrutiny of the Imperial Government into the needs of the provinces. The provinces acquired, within limits, the right of taxation as well as the power of borrowing.

Growth of Revenue and Expenditure.—The main heads of the expenditure of the Government of India are—(1) military charges, including the army and the navy; (2) public services, including general administration and justice; (3) public works, including railways, posts, telegraphs, and irrigation, and (4) material and moral welfare-work, including famine relief, sanitation, medical charges, and education.

In order to meet their expenses the Government have the following main sources of revenue—(1) Land revenue and income tax; (2) Indirect taxes,

including excise on commodities for consumption, like liquor; (3) Customs or taxes on articles imported into India, *e.g.*, cloth, articles of food and drink like sugar and liquor, manufactured goods, machinery, oils, etc., and on articles exported from India, *e.g.*, jute, rice, tea, hides, etc.; (4) Government monopolies, like opium, salt, and forest produce; and (5) Productive public works, like railways and irrigation works.

The history of the finances falls into three periods. From 1858 to 1876, the expenditure of the Government remained about Rs. 50 crores a year. During this period no wars of expansion were undertaken, and expenditure on other items remained stationary. From 1876 to 1900, the times were difficult, the country passed through a number of bad seasons and scarcity and famine prevailed in large areas. On the frontier the pressure of Russia forced the Government to embark on expensive defensive operations, and in Afghanistan and Burma costly wars had to be waged as a result of the forward policy of the British statesmen. The revenues of the Government of India were affected by the policy of free trade which they were obliged to adopt in deference to the interests of the British manufacturers. Moreover, the finances were threatened with confusion by the fall in the price of silver, which formed the basis of the Indian currency. The sudden increase in the supply of silver led to the lowering of the value of the Indian rupee, and the Government was led to adopt the gold standard, and to close the mints for the free coinage of silver.

During the next period from 1900 to 1919, the expenditure went up to nearly 200 crores. In the earlier years of the period, the military expenditure increased

on account of the frontier policy of Lord Curzon, and from 1914 because of the Great War. Increases occurred in all the other heads of expenditure, because Government activities multiplied in every directon, and also because the interest on public debts was considerably enhanced and became one of the heaviest charges on the Indian revenues.

So far as the revenues were concerned the largest increases took place in income tax, excise, customs, railways and irrigation. The income from salt remained stationary, and that from opium went down.

Means of Material Welfare.—During the nineteenth century public opinion in England was averse to the direct promotion of industries by Government. Little was done, therefore, by the Government of India to assist directly the industrialisation of India. Moreover, the Government was obliged to adopt the free trade policy which made it impossible to give even indirect help to growing industries. Some efforts were made by the provincial governments, notably of the United Provinces and Madras, to create departments of industries, but Lord Morley was opposed to the undertaking of industrial work on commercial lines by the state, and the only aid the Government was allowed to render was by way of experiment, instruction and collection of information.

The Government, however, organised the forest, salt and opium departments to control the production and sale of forest produce, salt and opium. It also took upon itself the responsibility of relieving human suffering due to famine, pestilence, and disease. Famines were quite frequent during the latter half of the nineteenth century and some of them were of great severity.

After the great Deccan famine of 1876-78 the Government appointed a commission in 1883, which made recommendations regarding famine relief, among which the most important was the creation of a famine insurance fund to provide relief. Nearly a crore and a half has to be set apart from the Government revenues to meet such needs, and the fund has greatly reduced the chances of misery and hardship.

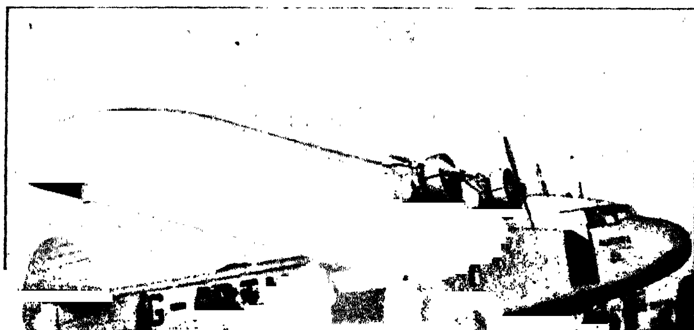


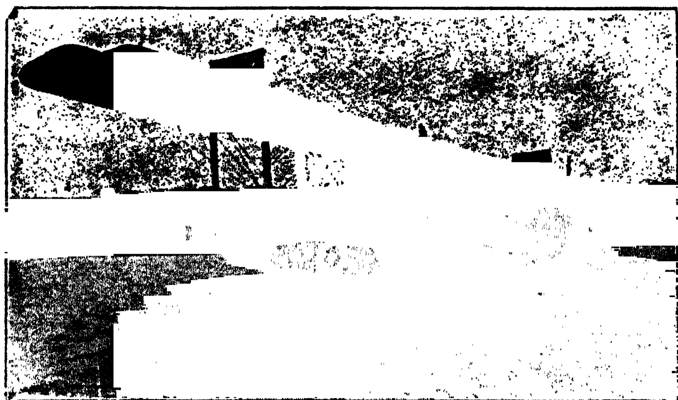
Photo *Statesman*

THE MAIL 'PLANE, "AURORA."

Since 1881, a number of factory laws have been passed with the object of protecting children and women, and of securing better conditions for workmen. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions began in 1864. But it was only when plague broke out in a virulent form in 1896 that the attention of the Government was forcibly drawn towards this problem,

and the sanitary department was organised. But the grants for sanitation have been quite inadequate, and the conditions of living of the poor, both in towns and villages, are so unsatisfactory that India has the highest death-rate and the lowest average expectation of life among all the civilised countries of the world.

In spite of the high death-rate, however, population has greatly increased. According to the estimates of a number of writers, the population of India during the Middle Age was between ten to fourteen



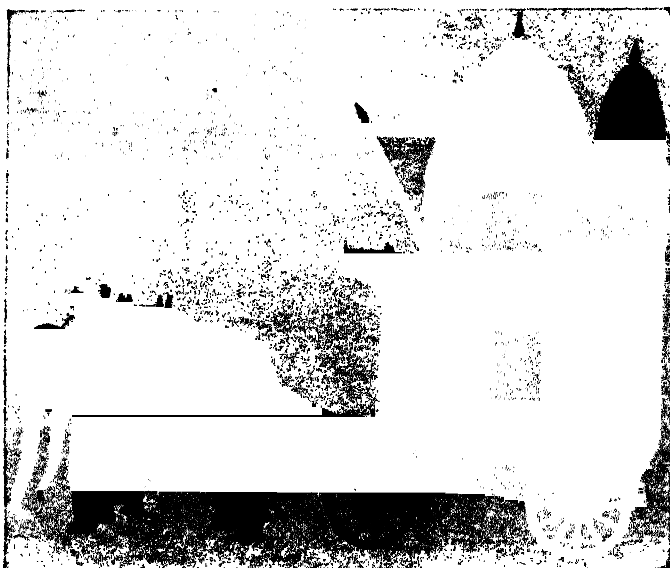
A FLYING BOAT.

crores. In 1872, when the first census was taken it had risen to over 20 crores, and in 1921 to nearly 32 crores. The increase of population has exercised much influence on economic conditions.

Considerations of moral good influenced the policy of the Government in the matter of restricting the cultivation of opium in India. In 1908 the Government guaranteed a decrease in the export of opium to China and made up its mind to sacrifice its opium revenue. Its policy has been to increase the revenue

from excise without encouraging illegal manufacture and sale of liquor.

During the nineteenth century, the Government undertook the development of the means of communication and transport in India. It opened up the country by means of roads, railways, post and telegraphs, and



ELEPHANT CARRIAGE.
(Loan Exhibition of Antiquities.)

connected India with the world by means of steamships and cables. The effect of these undertakings upon the economic conditions was revolutionary, for they transformed the mediæval conditions and created the basis of the modern economic life of India.

In the pre-British period there were no railways



Map of the
Principal Railway Systems of
INDIA
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Madras & Southern Mahratta Railway
South Indian Railway
Great Indian Peninsula Railway
Bombay, Baroda & Central India Railway
East Indian Railway
Bengal-Nagpur Railway
Oudh & Rohilkhand Railway
Eastern Bengal State Railway (Broad Gauge)
North Western State Railway
Bengal & North Western Railway
Eastern Bengal State Railway (Narrow Gauge)
Assam-Bengal Railway
Other Railways
DARGAI
PESHAWAR
RAWAL PINDI
KUNDIAN
WAZIRABAD
LAHORE
LUDHIANA
SIMLA
AMBALA
CHAMAN
QUETTA
MULTAN
FEROZEPORE
MIRJAWA
BOLAN
SAMASATA
SAHARANPUR
MORADABAD
DELHI
BIKANER
SUKKUR
BAREILLY
SHAHJAHANPUR
MUTTRA
BANDIKUI
AGRA
LUCKNOW
GORAKHPUR
DARJEELING
TINSUKIA
MYITKYINA
LUMDING
SYLHET
MYMENSINGH
DACCA
LAKSAM
CHANDPUR
CHITTAGONG
MAYMYO
MANDALAY
RAILWAYS
BURMA
CALCUTTA
HYDERABAD
CAWNPORE
AJMER
GWALIOR
MARWAR
KARACHI
KOTAH
JHANSI
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
GAYA
ASANSOL
SINA
KATNI
AHMEDABAD
RUTLAM
BHOPAL
JUBBULPORE
KANDRA
INDORE
ITARSI
BILASPUR
RAJKOT
BARODA
NAINPUR
KHANDWA
KHARGPUR
RAIPUR
BHUSAVAL
NAGPUR
UDHNA JN.
AMALNER
MANMAD
KHURDA ROAD
CUTTACK
PURI
PROME
BOMBAY
DHOND
POONA
KURDUWADI
WALTAIR
VIZIANAGRAM
PEGU
HOTGI
WADI
HYDERABAD
VIZAGAPATAM
RANGOON
BEZWADA
COCANADA
MOULMEIN
RAICHUR
GUNTUR
LONDA
GADAG
MASULIPATAM
MORMUGAO
HUBLI
GUNTAKAL
GUDUR
MANGALORE
BANGALORE
MADRAS
JALARPET
MYSORE
OOTY
PONDICHERRY
CALICUT
ERODE
TANJORE
SHORANUR
TRICHINOPOLY
NEGAPATAM
MADURA
DHANUSHKODI
QUILON
TRIVANDRUM
TUTICORIN
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

in India and the roads were bad. The villages, which were the units of population, were isolated and self-contained, and contact between one part of the country and another was slight. Until the middle of the nineteenth century there was little change in these conditions. Lords William Bentinck and Dalhousie carried out schemes which vastly

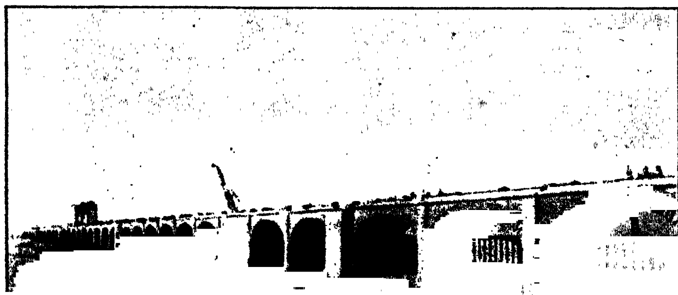


Photo *Statesman*

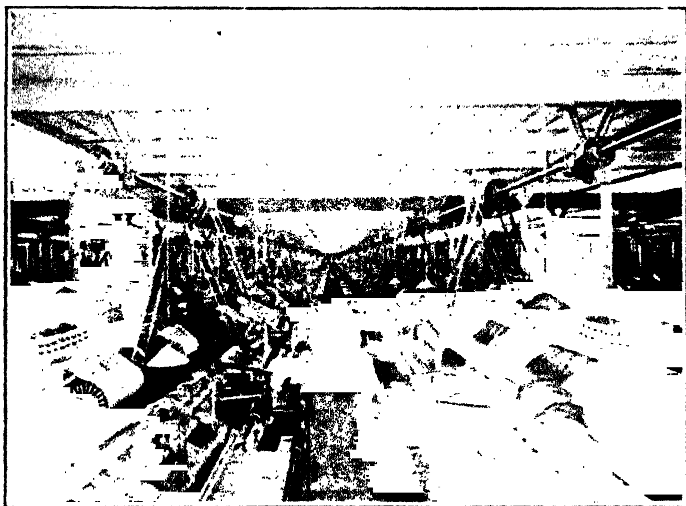
SUKKUR BARRAGE.

extended and improved communications, and by the end of the nineteenth century a great advance had been effected. By 1919, more than 50,000 miles of metalled roads, about 150,000 miles of unmetalled roads and nearly 35,000 miles of railways had been built.

The facilities of post and telegraph expanded along with them. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the organisation of steam navigation and the laying down of

cables under the sea brought India into close contact with the outside world.

Development of irrigation which extended the area under cultivation, provision of a uniform currency and system of tariffs, removal of barriers to free internal trade and changes in the agricultural and industrial conditions also stimulated the economic transition.



WEAVING MACHINES IN A JUTE MILL.

The consequences of the transition were that the old isolation of the peoples broke down, and the economic structure of society was modified. Agriculture in India is now no longer carried on to meet local needs. New crops, like jute, have been introduced. Different regions are beginning to specialise in the production of different crops suited to their natural conditions. The self-sufficiency of the village is disappearing, the

dependence of one region on another has increased, and the country, instead of being divided into numerous separate markets, constitutes one market. The population is no longer confined to its customary places of residence and to its customary occupations. There is greater inclination to move from one place to another, and from one occupation to another. Thus the rigidities of custom and status are giving way to competition, and life is becoming elastic and progressive. Under the stress of these forces the whole country is becoming one economic unit.

Measures affecting Social and Moral Welfare.—The terrible events of 1857 frightened the Government from undertaking measures of social reform. In India social customs, whether good or evil, are largely based on religion, and the Government came to the conclusion that the revolt of the Sepoys had been due to its interference in social affairs. For a long time, therefore, the Government took no active interest in social progress, and paid no heed to the requests of those who urged reform through legislation. By the time of Lord Lansdowne (1888-93), however, the apprehensions of the Government had become less acute, and in 1892 an Act was passed which gave protection to girls under the age of twelve and checked the evils of infant marriage.

Education.—In 1854, Departments of Public Instruction were established in the presidencies, and then in 1857, three universities were started at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The university of London was taken as the model, and therefore, they were entrusted with the holding of examinations only, and not with teaching.

In 1882-83, the Government appointed a commission to report on university education, and subsequently two more examining universities were established, one at Lahore in 1885 and the other at Allahabad in 1889. The commission of Lord Curzon (1902-04) modified the organisation of the universities without changing their essential character. The Calcutta University Commission of 1916 recommended the establishment of teaching and residential universities in India. The Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University followed these principles, although they were the first universities in India which owed their existence to public munificence. Secondary education also made much progress, but primary education remained very backward throughout the period.

The Press.—Newspapers made their appearance in India with the establishment of British rule. In the early days of the Company's rule, the first of these were English papers owned by Englishmen. Later, newspapers were started by Indians which were written in English and in Indian languages. The Company maintained strict control over these papers, but in 1835, Lord Metcalfe granted complete freedom of expression. But "a free press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together "—(*Munro*), and Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 limiting the liberty of the papers in the Indian languages. Lord Ripon repealed the Act, but restrictions were re-imposed in 1910.

Local Self-Government.—It is the natural desire of a people that they should govern themselves. The most enlightened among British officers had always recognised that a day must come when the Government

of India must be placed in the hands of Indians. Efforts to associate Indians in administration and government were made from time to time. The Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 had promised that Indians would be regarded eligible for all posts, and Indians were nominated to the legislative councils from 1861.

Municipalities had existed in the Presidency towns from the earliest days of the East India Company. Between 1842 and 1862, laws were passed permitting their establishment in the large centres of population. Lord Mayo extended the sphere of their work. Their functions were enlarged and the system of election was introduced. Lord Ripon in 1883-84 extended the elective system, gave a measure of financial control, and permitted the election of non-officials as chairmen. He also established the Local District Boards. In 1915, further progress was made. The elected element was expanded, the employment of non-official chairmen was increased, and greater control was conceded over finance.

(iii). Relations of the Government of India with the Neighbouring States

The relations of the Government of India with the neighbouring states have depended upon the relations of Great Britain with the European States, for the Government of India is a subordinate branch of the British Government and is bound to carry out the policy laid down by the British Parliament. In order to understand the foreign policy of the Government of India during this period, it is necessary briefly to know the foreign policy of Great Britain.

Great Britain had two serious rivals on the European continent in the middle of the nineteenth century—Russia and France.

The Russians had two ambitions—they desired to annex Constantinople and to extend their empire in the east. In both of these matters their interests were opposed to those of the British, and throughout the nineteenth century the two powers remained hostile. The French were defeated by the Germans in 1871 and lost two of their provinces. They were keen on building up a colonial empire, and they had established their dominion in several regions in Africa and in Indo-China. They came into conflict in all these parts with the British who possessed territories in their neighbourhood. Thus these two nations were also on unfriendly terms during the nineteenth century.

In the beginning of the twentieth century Germany rose to be one of the dominant powers in Europe, and the expansion of its industry, commerce and colonial empire roused the jealousy of the British. Great Britain composed its quarrels with France and Russia in order to combat the rivalry of Germany.

The foreign policy of the British statesmen was designed to counteract at first the aims of Russia and France, and later of Germany, and the Indian Government had to follow their decision so far as India was concerned. Three periods may be distinguished in the history of the relations of the Indian Government and its neighbours: (1) the period of masterly inactivity from 1856 to 1876; (2) the period of forward policy from 1876 to 1904; and (3) the period of compromise from 1904 to 1919.

The First Period, 1856—1876.—During the period from 1856 to 1876, Great Britain's foreign policy was one of keeping aloof from European entanglements, and the Government of India followed the policy of not interfering in the affairs of its neighbours so long as they did not menace the peace of India. It was only from the north-western direction that there could be any threat to India, for beyond the Indian frontier lay the country of Afghanistan, and beyond Afghanistan the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, which were fast falling under the influence of Russia. The British statesmen did not regard the expansion of Russia in Central Asia as a serious menace till 1873, and the Indian Government consequently regarded interference in Afghan affairs as unnecessary.

Lord Elgin (1862-63), who succeeded Canning as the Viceroy of India, had a short tenure of office, and it fell to the lot of **Lord Lawrence** (1864-69) to formulate the policy of inactivity which was pursued by his successors **Lords Mayo** (1869-72) and **Northbrook** (1872-76). Lawrence disliked the idea of alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan, and therefore, he refused to take any part in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. When Dost Muhammad, the Afghan Amir, died in 1863 and Sher Ali, his son, ascended the throne after a bloody struggle with his brothers, he was recognised Amir. In 1869, Lord Mayo met Sher Ali at a Durbar in Ambala. He assured the Amir of his friendship, but refused to make any definite commitments. Lord Northbrook adhered to the same policy, and refused the request of Sher Ali to recognise his son whom he had selected as his heir-apparent.

The Second Period, 1876—1904. The Second Afghan War.—In 1874, British statesmen began to feel that the policy of neutrality which had been followed was lowering British prestige and proving injurious to their interests. The Russians had made a great advance in Central Asia; they had entered into correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan; and they were carrying on intrigues against the Sultan of Turkey, who was an ally of Great Britain. The British determined, therefore, to counteract the Russian influence in Afghanistan. **Lord Lytton,** who was Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, was sent there to bring Sher Ali under British control.

Negotiations were opened with him by the Viceroy, but they proved fruitless. The British thereupon occupied Quetta (in 1877) which commands the Bolan Pass, supports the defence of the Khaibar, and controls the road between Kandahar and Bolan. The occupation was regarded as an unfriendly act by Sher Ali. In 1876, Russia declared war upon Turkey and the British prepared to interfere to prevent the Russians from obtaining ascendancy over Turkey. The Russians sought an alliance with the Amir and sent an envoy to Kabul, who concluded with him a treaty of friendship. Meanwhile, the Russo-Turkish War had come to an end, and the Russians had signed the Treaty of Berlin, and the British statesmen did not desire any demonstration against Russia in Asia. But Lord Lytton had made up his mind to establish British influence in Afghanistan, so he sent a mission under Chamberlain to Kabul through the Khaibar. The Amir refused to receive it, expecting that the Russians would help him against the British. The

refusal led to the declaration of war. The British troops forced the Afghan passes and occupied Kandahar in 1878. Sher Ali fled to Turkestan, where he died and his son, Yakub Khan, signed the Treaty of Gandamak, which placed Afghan foreign affairs under British control. A British envoy was admitted to Kabul and the district of Pishin was ceded to India.

Within a few weeks of his arrival, the British envoy was murdered, and the British forces had to march again under Roberts to Kandahar. The policy of Lytton had failed and he was replaced by **Lord Ripon.** The new Viceroy (1880-84) came to terms with Abdur Rahman, the nephew of Sher Ali. He secured control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan and retained Pishin, but abandoned the demand for the maintenance of an envoy at Kabul.

The Panjdeh Incident.—Lord Dufferin (1884-88) realised the need of defining the Russo-Afghan boundaries, for the Russian occupation of Merv in 1884 threatened the integrity of Afghanistan. A boundary commission was set up but, before it could meet, the Russians occupied Panjdeh, which was an Afghan outpost. The Amir, finding the British unwilling to help him, acquiesced. Then the boundary commission met and laid down the northern boundary of Afghanistan. Amir Abdur Rahman remained loyal to the alliance with the British till his death in 1901. His son, Habib Ullah, renewed the treaty in 1905.

The Third Burmese War and the Annexation of Upper Burma.—Since 1858 the French had established their dominion in Indo-China and had extended their influence towards Upper Burma. The proximity of the French roused the apprehension

of the British. The King of Upper Burma was on friendly terms with the British, but some trifling incidents led to quarrels between him and the Indian Government. The Burmese then sought an alliance with the French in 1883, and as the relations of Great Britain and France were strained over colonial matters, the British were not prepared to allow a treaty between Burma and France which would establish French influence in Upper Burma. Dufferin sent an army, which occupied Mandalay. King Thebaw was deported and Upper Burma was annexed to British India in 1886.

The Frontier Operations.—During the Viceroyalties of **Lords Lansdowne** (1888-94) and **Elgin** (1894-99) there were no wars. With Lord Curzon, active operations again began on the frontiers.

The fear of Russia led the British to interfere in Tibet as in Afghanistan. Tibet was under the suzerainty of China, and was ruled by the Dalai Lama, who was the head of a religious order. About 1898, the Dalai Lama fell under the influence of a Russian Buddhist, Dorjieff. He sent missions to Russia, which aroused British suspicions. The Government of India tried to reach an understanding with the Tibetan Government, but without success. **Lord Curzon** (1899-1905) sent a mission with a military escort in 1904, which forced its way to Lhasa and made a treaty under which marts for exchange of goods were to be opened and an indemnity to be paid.

The Third Period, 1904—1919.—The relations of Britain with Russia and France became altered with the close of the nineteenth century. The growing menace of Germany led the British statesmen to enter into treaties of alliance and

friendship with these two powers. In 1904, an agreement was made between Britain and France, which put an end to their conflicts in all parts of the world, including the Far East. During the administration of **Lord Minto** (1905-10), an Anglo-Russian convention defined in 1907 the respective spheres of influence of Britain and Russia in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. **Lord Hardinge** (1910-16) was the Viceroy of India when the Great War broke out. The result of the agreement with Russia was that during the War (1914-19), the frontiers of India remained safe from attack. Although the German agents strove to provoke Habib Ullah to war, they did not succeed. In 1919, Habib Ullah was murdered in Jalalabad. His son, Amanullah, became Amir and with him began a new phase in the history of Anglo-Afghan relations.

The Great War (1914-19).—The princes and peoples of India enthusiastically supported the British Government during the Great War. The spontaneous demonstrations of loyalty encouraged the Viceroy to send all the available troops to the war front. During the five years of fighting, India contributed nearly ten lakhs of soldiers and four lakhs of non-combatants to the war. The Indian troops fought on the battlefields of France, East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Greece.

India met the cost of her troops and contributed one hundred million pounds sterling towards the expenses of war. The Indian princes and people gave generously of their money for the purposes of war and the relief of sufferers. In the supply of war material, India's share was equally magnanimous. The great sacrifices made by India raised her status in the eyes of the world, and not only was an Indian invited to sign the Treaty of

Versailles, which closed the war, but India's status was recognised by making her one of the members of the League of Nations, which was created by the treaty to settle the quarrels of the nations.

(iv). Relations of the Government of India with the Tribes of the North-West Frontier

By the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab, the British came into immediate contact with the tribes living on the North-West Frontier. The borderland dividing India from Afghanistan consists of the narrow plain which forms the western portion of the Indus valley, and the confused mass of hills which rise from the plain. The hills are intersected by deep valleys over which hang precipitous ridges. They are traversed by two main passes, the Khaibar in the north, and the Bolan in the south; the first leads from Peshawar to Jalalabad and the second to Quetta. The hills are inhabited by wild tribes who have always followed an independent and predatory life.

These tribes control the passes between India and Afghanistan, and it is, therefore, a question of the greatest importance to the Indian Government how to manage the tribes so as to secure tranquillity for the borderland and protection for the Indian subjects.

The first task of the Government was to delimit the frontier which would effectively separate India from Afghanistan, and which could be most easily defended. Lord Lawrence and the Stationary School considered that the river Indus should be regarded as the boundary of India, and all territory beyond the Indus should be abandoned. This view was given up in the time of Lord Lytton, for according to the Forward School the

scientific frontier of India should be the line stretching from Kabul through Ghazni to Kandahar. Quetta was, therefore, occupied in 1877, Pishin and Sibi were annexed in 1879, and the British Baluchistan was created. The advance of Russia to the northern frontiers of Afghanistan brought about a compromise between the two schools. It was decided to set up in Afghanistan a strong and friendly state whose existence would lessen the chances of clash between Russia and India by interposing a protected territory between the two countries. The northern frontiers of Afghanistan were, therefore, defined by the Boundary Commission of 1886, and the southern and the eastern frontiers by the Durand Agreement of 1893. The Durand line with later modifications is the boundary of India.

The next task of the Government was to settle the problem of the control of the tribes. The country inhabited by the tribes is poor and the inhabitants are fanatical. Poverty and religious bigotry keep them restless, and they live by plundering the inhabitants of the rich plains of the neighbourhood and the caravans of merchants passing through their country. The tribes living along the Sindh border were easier to manage, and the policy of conciliation and payment of allowances followed by Sandeman, and the establishment of a special system of administration in Baluchistan, have completely succeeded in bringing about peace and tranquillity.

The tribes on the Punjab border were harder to manage. At first the deputy commissioners of the border districts of the Punjab dealt with the tribes, but in 1878, the system of political agents was introduced. The frontier was protected by a chain of forts, and a special

frontier force was organised which was later amalgamated with the regular army.

In 1893, Chitral became the scene of commotion. The death of the chief led the sons to a conflict in which the British garrison was besieged in 1895. It was relieved by the advance of the British forces by way of Malakand. The frontier was again disturbed in 1897, when the tribes rose under the instigation of fanatical Mullahs and attacked the British posts. Expeditionary forces quelled the rising. When Lord Curzon arrived in India, he devised a new system for the control of the whole frontier from Chitral to Baluchistan. He withdrew the British forces from the advanced posts, employed the tribal levies for keeping peace, concentrated the British forces in the British territories behind the border and improved the communications by building roads and railways connecting the places held by the British garrisons. These measures resulted in moderate success.

(v). Relations of the Government of India with the Indian States

The Indian states were regarded before 1858 as subordinate and isolated units. Their relations with the British Government were recorded in separate treaties with each state. They were looked upon as sources of danger to the British rule in India, and, therefore, they were not allowed to retain troops or to correspond with one another, and their mutual relations as well as external interests were completely controlled by the British Government. They were allowed to administer their territories in their own way, but their successions required the confirmation of the supreme

power, which also retained the right of interference on the ground of mismanagement—especially financial. The policy of the East India Company towards them was one of general distrust, and, therefore, of utilising every opportunity to annex their territories.

The revolt of 1858 and the general attitude of loyalty on the part of the princes removed much of the distrust against them, and although no alteration was made in the treaties, a change came about in their relations with the paramount power. The rapid development of the means of transport and communication, the growth of common economic interests, and the acceptance of higher standards of administration helped the change.

When the Government of India passed into the hands of the Crown, direct and personal relations were established between the British monarch and the princes. This strengthened the bonds of loyalty and allegiance, and the Indian Government obtained greater opportunities for influence, interference and control.

The Proclamation of the Queen, in 1858, allayed the anxiety of the princes by a declaration in clear terms that the sovereign desired no further annexation of Indian territory. To reassure the princes further, special *sanads* were issued sanctioning the practice of adoption. These measures guaranteed the perpetuity of the Indian states, and ensured their position as integral parts of the Indian Empire. Their status of subordination, of course, remained, but they were no longer isolated. They entered into union and co-operation with the paramount power.

The consequences of the new position were that in their external relations with the foreign powers they remained under the control of the British, and in their

relations with the Crown they ceased to be regarded as sovereigns. The paramount power abandoned for ever the right of annexation, and obtained from the princes acquiescence in the control, even though the treaties did not provide for it. The variety of relations established by the treaties was gradually replaced by uniformity of treatment, by the exercise of greater influence and more interference. Mysore offers the best example of the solicitude of the Government to preserve a state. In 1831 the mismanagement of the state had led to the deposition of the Raja and the assumption of administration by the British. In 1868, the Raja died without a natural heir, but the Government promised to recognise the adopted heir, and in 1881, when he came of age, restored the state to him.

The cases of Baroda and Manipur illustrate the principle that the Government reserves to itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a state, and to depose the reigning prince. Malhar Rao Gaikwad was the ruling prince of Baroda in 1874. His state had fallen into disorder. He was accused of attempting to poison the British Resident. A court consisting of British officials, Indian princes and ministers was set up to try him. The court did not reach a unanimous decision, but Malhar Rao was deposed on the charge of misgovernment. The state was not annexed, and a young relative of the Gaikwad was seated on the *gaddi.*

In Manipur (Assam) a rebellion broke out in 1891. The rebels expelled the prince and killed the Commissioner of Assam. The rebellion was crushed, the expelled prince was deposed, but his son was recognised as the chief of the state.

In 1905, the growth of unrest in British India made another change in the attitude of the Government towards the Indian states. The policy of interference and control was resented by the princes, and as the Government desired to strengthen its hands against the Indian agitation, it gave up its coercive policy and began to cultivate relations of friendship with them. The result of the change was that the Imperial Service Troops, which had come into existence in 1886, were encouraged and developed. The princes were no longer forbidden from mutual relations, and when they offered their services during the Great War they were taken into greater confidence. In 1917, Mr. Montagu and **Lord Chelmsford** recommended the establishment of a Chamber of Princes which was inaugurated in 1921. The Government also recognised the need of interpreting the treaties in a more elastic manner. The creation of a favourable atmosphere encouraged the princes to raise their demands higher.

(vi). Growth of the Consciousness of Nationality

Many causes combined to produce the consciousness of nationality in the nineteenth century. The development of the Indian civilisation in the Middle Age had already prepared the ground. The Indian peoples belonging to many races and creeds had gradually evolved a common outlook upon life, common customs and manners, and common ways of living. Their arts and literatures gave expression to their common ideals. But they stopped short of the realization of the idea of an all-embracing society which united within its fold all the tribes, castes and communities of India. In the nineteenth century began the operation of those forces which gave birth to the idea of the Indian nation. Once

aroused, this consciousness of national unity spread in ever wider circles and permeated deeper and deeper in the lives of Indians. The growth of this consciousness has naturally awakened the desire for self-determination and Swarajya, and has inspired the great movements for reform in religion, society and government.

Three causes may be distinguished in this process.

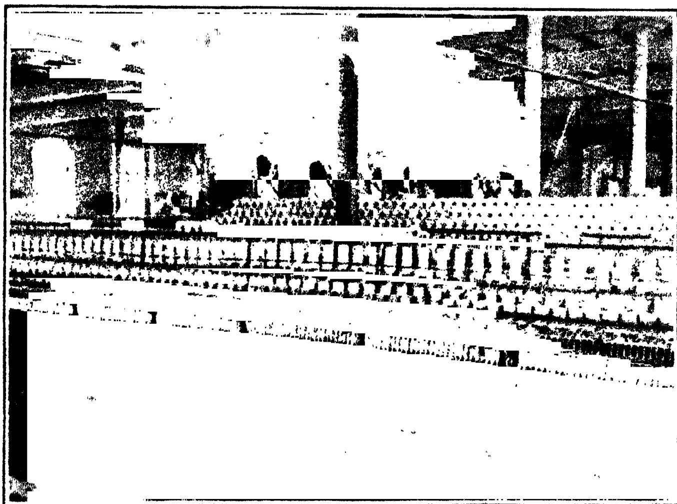


MACHINE SHOP OF BENGAL CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS, CALCUTTA.

The first cause is economic, which provided the foundation for the unity of India.

The second cause, which powerfully advanced this unity, was the establishment of a uniform system of administration and government. Owing to the centralisation of political power, the autonomy of the villages disappeared. Owing to the adoption of uniform codes of laws recognising the rights of individuals, the self-sufficiency

of the groups, like caste and clan, was destroyed, for the laws tended to give freedom to the individuals to follow their own inclinations and interests, and to draw the individuals together into a community bound by a single legal system. The direct relations between the Government and the people which eliminated the inter-



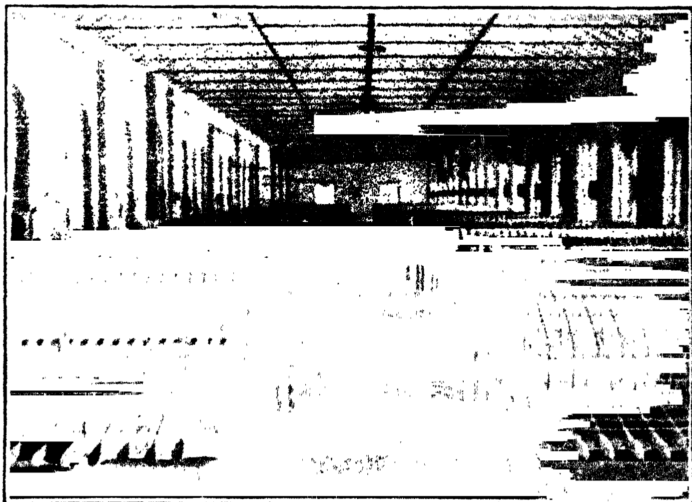
REELING ROOM OF A COTTON MILL.

mediaries broke up the old political system. The activity of the Government in the various departments of life roused the consciousness that the misery and welfare of the people depended upon the Government; the pressure which the British rule exerts over the whole of India up to its furthest frontiers, and the racial and cultural differences which divide the rulers from the ruled still further stimulated this feeling.

The third cause has been the spread of European ideas in India. The school, the press, and travel have brought

Indian mind into intimate relations with European ideas, customs and institutions.

The study of European literature, especially of English, gave a strong stimulus to the sentiment of nationalism. English literature abounds in patriotic poems and songs of moving beauty and great power which extol the love of one's country. No one who reads them can remain unaffected. Again, the strong individualism, the appeal to man's reason, the occupation



SPINNING ROOM OF A COTTON MILL.

with the joys and sorrows of this world which are the characteristics of that literature, have exercised a great influence in changing the mediæval outlook of India.

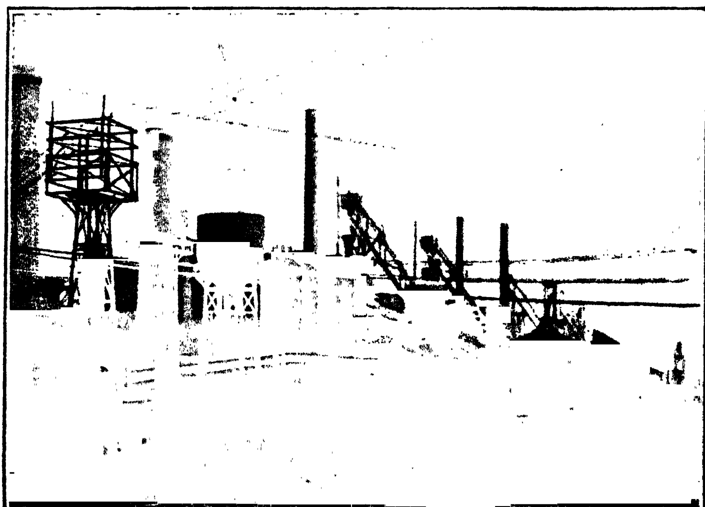
As a result of the economic transition and the spread of western ideas, appeared the educated middle class of India which has exercised a tremendous influence in the reformation of religious, moral, social and political

life. In the Middle Age the Pandits and Maulvis formed the learned class which exerted much influence on the religious life of society, but possessed little influence with the rulers. The modern educated class which consists of professional men like lawyers, doctors, teachers, and journalists, and of industrialists, bankers and traders carrying on their business in accordance with modern methods, forms a most powerful group. The Indian officers of the Government belong to this class, and the efficiency of the administration has largely depended upon them. This class has supplied most of the leaders of the movements which have transformed Indian society. The rise of the educated middle class has been one of the most important results of the establishment of British rule in India.

Movements of Religious and Social Reform in the Nineteenth Century.—The people of India had failed to resist the onward march of British conquest, and before the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the whole country had fallen prostrate before its conquerors. The downfall of the people who boasted of a most ancient civilisation was a very striking event. It led them to think of the defects of their society, and prompted them to uproot these evils. Among them lack of social solidarity, for which their differences were responsible, was the greatest.

Again, the Indians of the eighteenth century had fallen on evil times. They were lacking in earnestness and integrity, they were selfish and incapable of subordinating their personal interests to the interests of the country. They were either superstitious in religion or indifferent towards the higher ideals of life, or blind followers of custom and tradition. In any case their

spiritual life was stagnant, and, therefore, the first movements which arose from the impact of western culture aimed at the awakening of the Indian mind from its stupor. The Hindus and the Muslims were both similarly affected, and reformers appeared among both to revive the purity of their life and faith.



TATA IRON WORKS, JAMSHEDPUR.

The Hindu Reformers.—The revival in Hinduism began with Raja Ram Mohan Rai (1774-1833) who founded the Brahma Samaja in 1828. Its first temple was opened in 1830. The Samaja sought to purify Hinduism and to establish the worship of one true God, whose will was revealed in the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*. It attacked social evils like caste, and advocated the uplift of women. It desired to strengthen the bonds of union between men

of all religions and creeds. Devendra Nath Tagore, who joined it in 1842, became one of its greatest leaders. Another great leader was Keshab Chandra Sen, who was much influenced by Christian thought. He separated from the original society and established the new Brahma Samaja in 1866. In 1881, the new Samaja was again split into two. Thus three societies came to be established. They exercised much influence in Bengal. The earliest branch has given to India Rabindra Nath Tagore the poet, and Abanindra Nath Tagore the painter. In Bombay the visit of Keshab Chandra Sen led to the foundation of the Prarthana Samaja in 1867. Its leaders were Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Sir Narayana Chandavarkar. The Samaja did a great deal of work in the sphere of educational and social reform.

The Arya Samaja was founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar, an energetic reformer and a great patriot. He denounced idolatry and caste, and taught the unity of God and the sacredness of the *Vedas*. He denounced the many social evils which had crept into Hindu society, and his inspiration led to the foundation of many educational institutions both for boys and girls in Northern India. The Arya Samaja has fostered pride in the achievements of the ancient Indians and has helped in building up a sturdy and self-reliant character. Its aggressive religious work has, however, evoked much opposition from those whom it attacks.

The Theosophical Society was established by Madam Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in 1875. It strove to revive the ancient Hindu religion by defending its dogmas and practices from the attacks of the reformers. The movement appealed to the orthodox

among the educated classes. Mrs. Annie Besant, the gifted orator, was the guiding spirit of the movement. She founded the Central Hindu College at Benares, and an institution at Adyar, near Madras. The society has openly proclaimed the superiority of the Hindu culture to the civilisation of the West, and helped in rousing among the Hindus a sense of pride for their country.

Swami Rama Krishna Paramhansa was a religious devotee who had a passionate longing for the realization of God. He sought truth in all religions, and after a long process of self-discipline believed that he had gained a first-hand knowledge of it. He proclaimed the fundamental unity of all religions. His famous disciple, Swami Vivekananda, was a wonderful orator, who lectured on *Vedanta* in many western countries from 1895 to 1897. In India he preached the life of practical *Vedanta*. He was a great patriot who held that India was the spiritual teacher of the world. His inspiration has led to the foundation of many *sevashramas*—homes of service for the sick, the suffering, and the poor.

Religious Movements among the Muslims.— The first leader among the Muslims who tried to remove the evil practices of the Muslim community and to establish purer ideals of life was Saiyyad Ahmad Barelvi, who died fighting against the Sikhs in 1831. Among his teachers were the famous scholar, Maulvi Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, who wrote a noted commentary on the Quran, and Maulvi Abdul Qadir, who made the first Urdu translation of the Quran. Karamat Ali, a disciple of Saiyyad Ahmad, who died in 1873, carried on the propaganda of his master in Eastern Bengal.

These early efforts originated with the reformers who had not been affected by western education, but the later movements were due to the Muslim leaders who came under the influence of western ideas. Among them was Maulvi Chiragh Ali who was born near Meerut in 1844, and who served under the British Government and in the Hyderabad State. He was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian, and an advocate of social reforms. He died in 1895.

But the greatest reformer among the Muslims was Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan (1817-98), who roused the Muslims from their lethargy by his religious and social writings. He had a firm conviction that the study of western sciences was necessary for the progress of the Muslims and, therefore, in 1875, he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. He also wrote a commentary on the Quran which made a departure from the traditional point of view, and attempted to interpret the Holy Book in accordance with rational principles. The Aligarh movement exercised a tremendous influence on the mind of the Muslims; it created among them the ambition to obtain for their community its proper place among the other communities of India, and turned their thoughts from the fruitless contemplation of their past glories and defeats to the actual pursuit of the ideal of progress and advancement in the modern world.

Maulvi Shibli Numani (1857-1914) was a colleague of Sir Saiyyad, who founded the *Nadwatul Ulama* (a school for oriental learning) at Lucknow, to reform the education of the Maulvis of the old type, and the

Darul Musannifin (academy of authors) at Azamgarh, for researches in Islamic studies.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani (1839-1908) was a purely religious reformer. He held that the Muslims had fallen from greatness because they had forgotten the original meaning of their faith. He claimed to be a messenger of God who had been sent to re-establish the pure Muslim religion. He taught a spiritual and moral, rather than a literal, obedience to the injunctions of the Quran. He held that Jihad (religious warfare) was not binding on the Muslims, and that all religions were from God, although Islam was the final and the universal religion. The followers of the Ahmadiya movement are mainly found in the Punjab, although its influence extends to many parts of India and it has established a mission in England.

Political Reformers.—The material and economic changes prepared the ground for the growth of nationalism; the developments in religion and education roused the spirit of moral freedom. But the realization of moral freedom implies the regulation and determination of our conduct in accordance with the principles which our reason approves, a consequence of which is war against traditionalism and blind faith. But the path of religious and social emancipation, which India has been treading in the nineteenth century, inevitably led her on to march upon the path of political freedom.

Munro, Macaulay and Bentinck had foreseen the goal towards which India was moving. Sir Alfred Lyall, in 1859, had asked, "having taught them (Indians) the advantages of liberty and the use of European sciences, how are we to keep them under us and persuade them that it is for their good that we hold all the high offices

of Government?" The educated class of Indians and the Indian press were beginning to enquire as to how far the great principles of liberty, equality and justice which characterised the Government in Great Britain were actually applied to India. Under the unifying influences which began to operate in the nineteenth century "the Indian mind was marching on, eager to do what it, for its own part, had to do." India found that in spite of peace and of material development the people were hungry and naked, stricken with ignorance and disease, and branded with the stigma of inferiority. It demanded their removal..

The history of the political struggle and reforms may be divided into three periods:

The First Period, 1858—1877.—Hostility towards British rule had been manifested in the Indian Mutiny. Later the Wahabis, who are a sect of the Muslims, organised a propaganda against the Government (1864-73). The Maratha Brahmans showed much disaffection in the period just following the Mutiny, and in the Punjab there were risings among the Sikhs. But these isolated movements of violence failed.

The Second Period, 1877—1905.—In 1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India and a new era began in Indian politics. The wars against Afghanistan and Burma had increased public expenditure which continued to grow till it became doubled by 1905. Bad seasons, followed by terrible famines in 1876-77 and again in 1896-99, and the fall in the value of the rupee leading to the enhancement of prices of articles, were causing widespread misery.

The press began to blame the Government and the

Government tried to silence criticism by passing the Press Act of 1878. When Lord Ripon arrived in India, he tried to pacify Indian opinion by the grant of local self-government in 1883-84, and by the abolition of the Press Act (1881). But in 1883 when a bill was introduced in the legislature to allow the trial of Europeans by Indian magistrates, the European community created a loud uproar. The agitation roused the bitterest feelings among Indians, "the passionate claim of the European to predominance was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality." Associations were formed to advance the cause.

In 1885 the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. W. C. Bonnerji. "In that meeting modern India became articulate and from that day onward none could say that she consented to her own bondage." The Congress demanded the reform of the Indian administration, the admission of Indians in the legislatures of India, and the larger association of Indians in the higher branches of the Indian services. The object of the Congress was proclaimed to be the eradication of all race, creed or provincial prejudices, and the development and consolidation of national unity. Year after year the popularity of the Congress increased. Its programme included the demands for (1) the relief of Indian poverty; (2) the more satisfactory administration of the government revenue and expenditure; (3) the training and admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army; and (4) the reform of the constitution.

In 1892, the Parliament passed the Indian Councils Act, which introduced some reforms in the legislatures, but otherwise paid no heed to the demands of the

Congress. It was held that the Congress represented only the microscopic minority of the educated, but did not represent the wealth or power of India. " But if the presumption on which representative government ultimately rests is that the party which commands a majority of votes is that which would win in an appeal to force—such basis was lacking in India."

The famine of 1896, and the outbreak of plague in the same year, caused widespread distress, and combined with the indifference of the Government to the wishes of the reformers, created a party of politicians who advocated more energetic action than the passing of resolutions. Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak, who was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and an intense patriot, became the leader of this party. Lord Curzon's measures produced tremendous excitement and greatly strengthened the forces of the new party. With the appearance of this party the third period of political advance began.

The Third Period, 1905—1919.—The causes which promoted the growth of unrest were plague and famine, the increase of population which had compelled the cultivators to bring under cultivation poorer lands requiring harder toil but giving diminishing profits, and the free trade policy of the Government which aroused the opposition of the moneyed men who desired protection for their industries against foreign competition. The rise in the prices of commodities hit the middle classes whose incomes were fixed. The rapid increase in public expenditure made the burden of taxation heavier, but the ability of the people to meet the growing demands did not develop equally, for agriculture remained the principal source of India's wealth, and industry made

very slow progress. These economic causes made life harder for all classes of people, and the peasants in the villages, the traders and the industrialists in the towns, and the professional men became disaffected.

Sentimental causes added to the bitterness. The ill-treatment of Indians settled in South Africa, and Lord Curzon's measures, specially the Partition of Bengal, and the changes in the educational system, produced great resentment. In an atmosphere full of tension, the news of the victories gained by the Japanese over the Russians, in the war in Manchuria, in 1904-05, sent a thrill throughout the country. The magic spell of European superiority was broken and a new sense of national self-respect was born. As a result the demand for a change in the political status of India became loud and insistent.

The leaders of the party which most vigorously voiced this demand and advocated an active policy to enforce it were: Balgangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra, Lajpat Rai of the Punjab, Bipinchandra Pal and Arabindo Ghosh of Bengal. Opposed to them was the party of gradual progress and of constitutional agitation, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjea and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Both parties tried to win public opinion to their side and they stirred the whole country with agitation. The sessions of the Indian National Congress became animated, and in 1906, at Calcutta, the Congress formulated the demand for Swarajya and adopted resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. In 1907, the conflict between the two parties led to a split and the new party left the Congress.

As discontent became deeper and more widespread, a number of consequences followed. The

Government began to consider measures to satisfy the aspirations of the educated classes. The Muslims, who had so far taken little part in political agitation, realized the need of organising Muslim opinion on political and other affairs, so that in any scheme of reform they should receive their proper share of representation and influence. Lastly, a section of hot-headed young men, despairing of peaceful means of political advance, founded secret societies with the object of committing violent deeds.

In 1906, the Muslim League was founded His Highness the Agha Khan stated the three objects of the League to be: (1) to co-operate with the other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country; (2) to co-operate with the Hindus and other sections of society to remove the peculiar disabilities of the Muslims; and (3) to promote measures required exclusively for the benefit of the Muslims.

In 1907, the terrorist outrages commenced, many persons were wounded and killed, and much property was looted. The revolutionists followed the methods of the European anarchists and probably received assistance from outside India. But the movement was mainly confined to Bengal.

In 1909, the Morley-Minto reforms were proclaimed, the councils were enlarged and their functions were increased. Special representation was conceded to the Muslims. About the same time repressive laws were enacted. The attempt of the Government to rally the moderates and the Muslims, to repress the extremists and to destroy the revolutionists succeeded to a large extent. In 1911, Their Majesties the Emperor and the Empress visited India, and they proclaimed the

modification of the Partition of Bengal, and the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi.

In 1914, the World War broke out; the statesmen of England announced that the British nation and their allies were fighting for the principles of freedom and self-determination of nations. The princes and people of India enthusiastically responded to the call of their Government and made generous offers of men and money for the war. But as the war dragged on, the warmth of feeling began to wane. Lord Sinha, who presided over the Congress of 1915 in Bombay, demanded of the Government the establishment of self-government in India, or in other words, "government of the people, for the people and by the people."

The Muslims were sorely affected, for the Sultan of Turkey who was their Caliph was at war with the British, and they showed anxiety on behalf of their co-religionists outside India. In 1916, Mrs. Besant founded the Home Rule League with the object of bringing together all political parties and communities in the demand for Swarajya. In December, 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League met at Lucknow. It was the first Congress since 1907, which the advanced politicians attended. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the League, declared that self-government for India was the political ideal of the Muslim Community. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted a common goal for India and evolved a common scheme for the establishment of self-government, and the achievement of the Hindu-Muslim Unity raised the hopes of India high. But the internment of Mrs. Besant in 1917 roused a storm. To allay Indian feelings, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, made a memorable announcement on 20th

August, 1917, to the effect that the policy of the British Government was "the progressive realization of responsible government in India." In the same year Mr. Montagu visited India, and with the assistance of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, drew up a report in which the scheme of political reforms was explained. In December, 1919, the scheme was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919, which conceded the element of responsibility in the provincial governments. Although the moderate politicians expressed their desire to work the new constitution, the Congress condemned the reforms as unsatisfactory. The introduction of the principle of responsibility in the Indian constitution was a recognition of the growth of Indian nationalism.

C. Literature and Art

The establishment of British rule in India caused a profound change in the social and political conditions of India. The result of the impact of western civilisation was that a revolution took place in the moral and intellectual life of the Indian people. In the past, the Indian mind had been largely dominated by a religious and other-worldly spirit, and the Indian societies were pervaded by aristocratic and princely ideals. Our culture was traditional, looked to the authority of the past for inspiration and was based on a belief in an unchanging order of things. Our literature and art were an expression of this culture.

The modern epoch of Indian civilisation began with the British conquest and is divided into two periods: the first lasted till 1858, and the second continues to the present day. During the first period, the old forms of

literature and art continued side by side with the new forms which were arising under the influence of the West. During the second period, the new forms establish themselves and the old forms decay.

The main characteristics of modern civilisation are that it is critical in spirit, it lays great store by reason and does not follow authority blindly. Modern civilisation emphasises the worth of man both as an individual and as a member of society. But among his interests, it recognises those supreme which concern his welfare in this world. It does not take much notice of the other world. It regards the nation as the highest goal of human association and the only means of realizing the happiness of man. It believes in progress. Man and society are both subject to the law of progress and contribute towards its realization. The modern spirit is thus deeply interested in man and his surroundings. It is equally interested in the varied aspects of man's inner life, in the struggle of right and wrong within him, in the development of his reason and the play of his passions and emotions, and in his efforts to establish harmony within his soul. It is interested in man's social and natural environment too, in man's relations with family, society, state and humanity, and in the world of nature which surrounds him—land and water, earth and sky, plant and animal, and the phenomena of changing time, weather and seasons.

Literature.—The literature and art of the modern period are inspired with this spirit. In literature we have abandoned the cultivation of the ancient and classical languages and we now employ the modern Indian languages, which have been developing since the beginning of the Middle Age. Among

them, the most important are Hindustani—Hindi and Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarati in the north, and Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu in the south. During the period of transition each one of these languages had a traditional school and a modern school of writers. While the traditional school followed the old styles and forms, the modern school developed new forms and gave expression to new feelings.

The First Period.—The Hindi poets of the traditional school lived at the courts of the Indian princes: among them the best known were Chandra Shekhar (1798-1875), the author of *Hammir Hath,* and Padmakar (1753-1833), the author of *Jagad Vinod.* The traditional school of Urdu poetry was at the height of its popularity as some of the greatest poets flourished during this period at Delhi, Lucknow, Rampore, Patna and Hyderabad, which were the centres of Mughal courts. The names of Ghalib and Anis stand out as two of the most distinguished poets of the times. In spite of the fact that the literature of the other provinces was characterised by a decadent style, the Urdu poetry of the period is strong and vigorous and largely free from the blemishes which are found in the other Indian literatures of this time. The lyrics (*ghazal*) of Ghalib and the elegiacs (*Marsia*) of Anis are masterpieces of art.

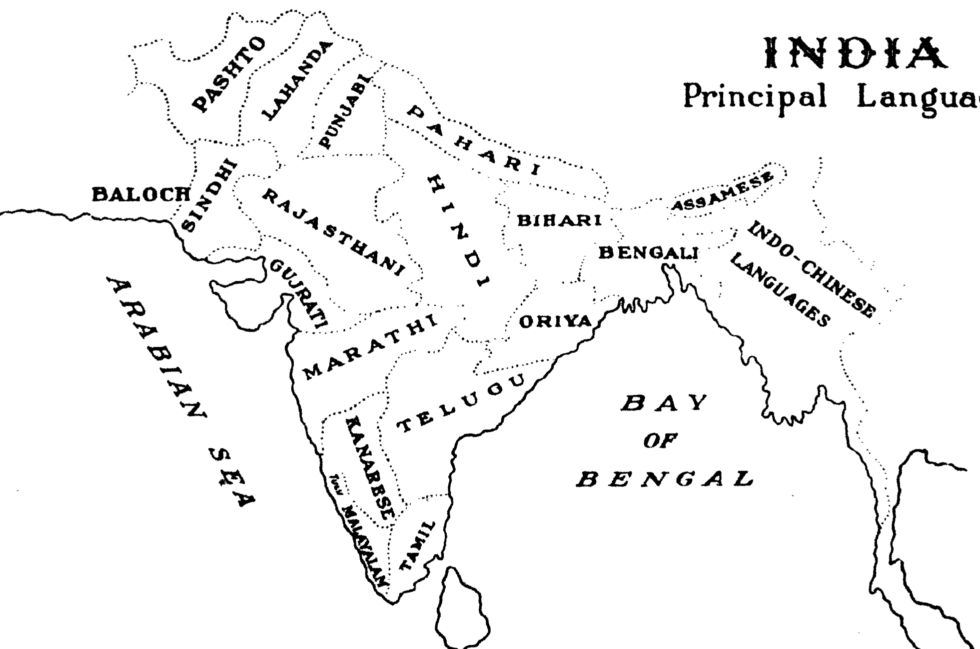
In Gujarat, the old Bhakti cult, as taught by Vallabha, continued to supply impetus for poetry of a devotional type. A new order of Bhaktas established by Sahajanand Swami, which arose in protest against Vallabha's mode of worship, gathered round it a number of poets. But the most original and influential poet of

the period was Dayarama (1767-1852), who was a singer of love lyrics.

In Bengal, among the poets of the traditional style were the Kabiwalas (songsters), who composed popular songs on the theme of the love of Radha and Krishna, the composers of devotional songs and love lyrics, and the poets who translated or adapted old Sanskrit works into Bengali like Raghunandan Goswami and Jayanarayan Ghosal.

The Second Period.—The influence of western ideas began to be felt from the early days of the British rule. While the Government became interested in the Indian languages, because its officers had to acquire them for the purpose of intercourse with Indian people, the European Christian missionaries cultivated them in order to spread the ideas of their religion among them. One of the most important results of this was that the foundations of a prose literature were laid, and the second was the growth of poetry and drama in accordance with the western forms. The writers of the transitional period were merely pioneers. They sowed the seed, but their successors in the second period reaped the harvest.

Among the modern languages, Bengali outstripped all the others. Bengali writers developed every branch of their literature both in prose and poetry, and a number among them have obtained recognition and fame not only in India but throughout the world. Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote many novels and is the author of the famous national song, *Bande Mataram*. Rabindra Nath Tagore is the most illustrious poet that modern India has produced; he has not only composed songs and poems, but also written dramas, novels, and essays.



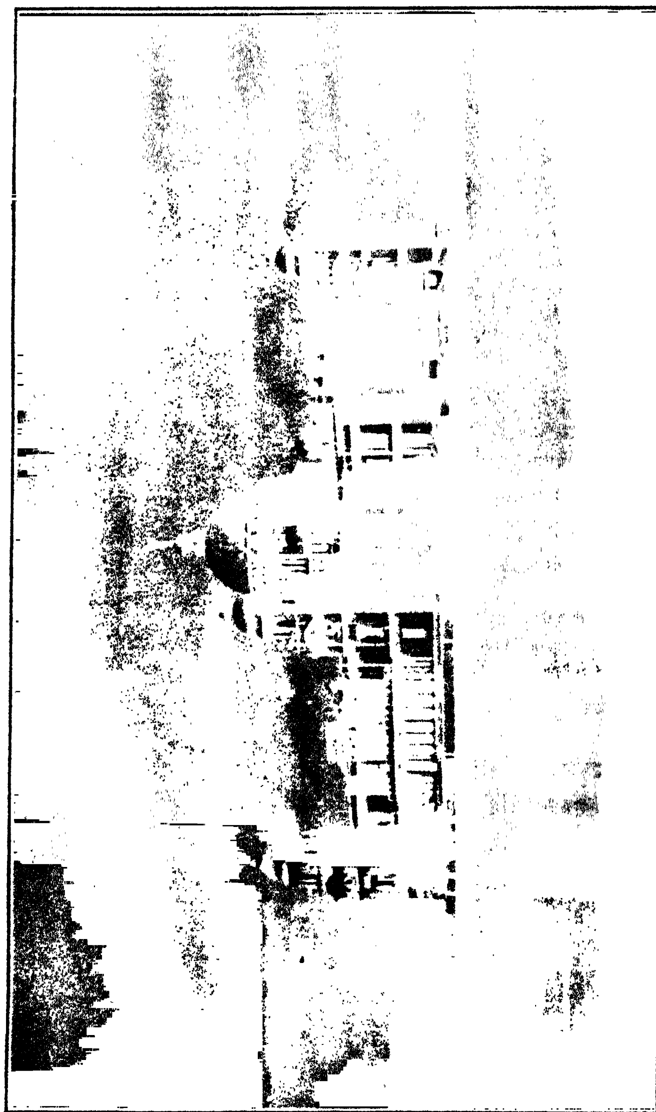
INDIA
Principal Languages
PASHTO
LAHANDA
PUNJABI
PAHARI
BALOCH
SINDHI
RAJASTHANI
HINDI
BIHARI
ASSAMESE
INDO-CHINESE
LANGUAGES
BENGALI
GUJRATI
ORIYA
MARATHI
TELUGU
KANARESE
Tulu
MALAYALAM
TAMIL
ARABIAN SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL

Among the Urdu authors, Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, who depicts the society of Lucknow in his *Fisanai Azad;* Altaf Husain Hali, the composer of the great poem which narrates with deep pathos the story of the rise and decline of Islam; Muhammad Husain Azad, the prose writer; and Muhammad Iqbal, the poet, are justly celebrated.

Hindi has not been so rich in great writers in this period, for it had to abandon the old modes of speech and writing which were employed so successfully in the past and to create a new mode of expression known as the *Khari Boli.* The number of those who are cultivating the new Hindi is ever increasing, but the master-craftsmen are not yet many. The names of Harischandra, the dramatist, and Prem Chand, the short-story writer, stand out among them.

In the Marathi language a rich literature has sprung up. It has derived its inspiration from the awakening which took place in Maharashtra for the reform of religion and society, and it has been influenced by western ideas and models. The foundations of Marathi prose literature were laid by Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, and of the modern drama by Annasahib Kirloskar. Marathi claims numerous poets and authors, but among them writers of outstanding merit are few.

Art.—Indian art during the first half of the nineteenth century was fast decaying. The painters, sculptors and architects of India had lost the impulse which creates new forms. They were imitating the old forms and following the traditional paths. The failure of the Indians in their struggle with the western nations had shaken their faith in their own ideals. They had drifted from the principles of their civilisation and had



THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA.

not mastered the principles of the new. The old canons of art were disregarded and the new ones were not evolved. The result was a great decline in taste and in the power of appreciating true art.

The buildings which continued to be built by the descendants of the hereditary craftsmen still showed the beauty of the old art. But this enfeebled style after lingering among the old cities like Delhi, Jaipur, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Mysore gradually died out. Its place was taken by a new style of architecture in which there was a senseless imitation of western models. The Chhatar Manzil of Nasiruddin Haidar and the Qaisar Bagh of Wajid Ali Shah at Lucknow built in brick and plaster, and the huge houses which the Rajas and landlords of Bengal built in Calcutta are examples of the debased taste which created these monuments of vulgar art.

Throughout the nineteenth century architecture continued to exhibit this vitiated taste. The buildings erected by the Government, through the agency of the Public Works Department or by the Indian Princes and men of wealth, were built in styles which show little sense of beauty.

More recently a change has come over public feeling. Although the traditional Mughal and Rajput styles have lost their hold, both on account of a change in taste and in the methods and materials of building, attempts have been made to evolve a distinctive style which without ceasing to be Indian incorporates western elements. The buildings erected by the Government, like the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta and the Assembly Hall at Delhi, also show the desire to depart from the traditions of the characterless art of the Public Works Department.

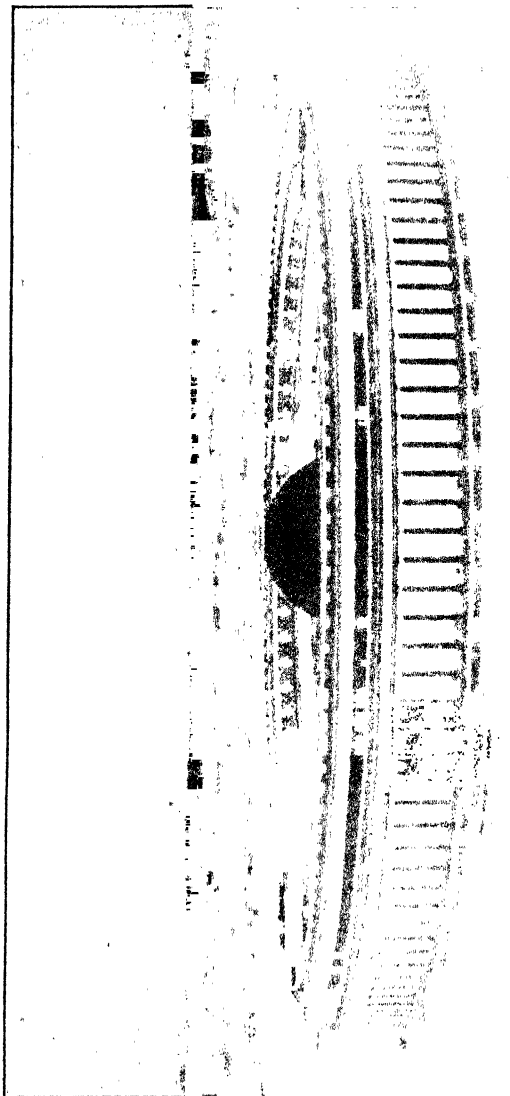


Photo *Statesman*

THE ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS, NEW DELHI.

Painting illustrates the working of similar tendencies. The painters who worked at the courts of the Indian princes at Lucknow, Lahore, Amritsar, Patna, Poona, Tanjore, Mysore and other places during the first half of the nineteenth century continued the tradition of drawing and colouring according to the old models, but more and more ineffectively. The Rajput and Pahari Schools also declined rapidly. The contact with the West led to blind imitation of European art without the understanding of its principles. The Indian people lost the appreciation of true art, and Indian houses began to be decorated with cheap European pictures or with vulgar paintings drawn by Indian artists who copied western methods. From this deplorable condition painting was rescued by a group of Bengali painters who were influenced by the teachings of Mr. Havell of the Calcutta School of Art. Their leader has been Abanindra Nath Tagore who drew his inspiration from the study of the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and the art of China and Japan. He has trained a batch of artists who have been endeavouring to revive Indian art and to elevate the taste of the public. Among the most noted younger artists are Nandalal Bose of Bengal and Abdur Rahman Chaghtai of the Punjab. In Bombay a new school of artists under the guidance of Mr. Soloman is creating a style of painting which is seeking to assimilate the western modes to Indian conditions.

D. The Dawn of Self-Government, 1919—1935

The transformation of the conditions of life in India, and the growth of the sentiment of nationality, effected a change in the Indian system of government. It was recognised by the rulers of India that it was no longer

possible to govern the country according to the old methods. The constitution of the government was consequently modified, and the element of responsibility to the people was introduced in the provincial administrations by the Act of 1919.

A new era was thus inaugurated in the history of India. But the commencement of this era coincided with the close of the Great War (1914-18), which is unparalleled in history for its devastating effects. The war shook the foundations of civilisation and left behind a legacy of racial hatred, economic chaos and political revolution, which threatens to overthrow the world order.

India could not escape from the influence of these conditions, and during the last fourteen years she has passed through a period of storm and stress. On the frontiers, India has felt heavy pressure, and, within her borders, social movements and political upheavals have stirred her life to its depths.

The history of these strenuous years is, therefore, in the first place, a record of the events on the frontiers which have depended upon the changing conditions beyond the frontiers. In the second place, it is a record of the activities of the people and the Government, in consequence of the changes in the internal conditions, both material and moral.

(i) External Relations

There are two factors which determine the external relations of India. The first factor, which is of primary importance, is the political situation in Europe; the second factor, which is of secondary importance, is the condition of India's Asiatic neighbours.

In 1919 the situation was that Great Britain and

her allies had won a complete victory over Germany, and, therefore, the one formidable foe who had threatened for a number of years British supremacy in the world, was humiliated and overthrown. But the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia raised an enemy who appeared to constitute an even greater menace to the British Empire. For soon after the revolution, the Russian Soviet Republic established its control over the Muslim principalities of Central Asia, and then began to extend its influence over the states of Western Asia and China. Thus, the danger which had throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century loomed large on the horizon of India, reappeared on the borders, to disturb the minds of the British Imperial statesmen.

The countries of Western Asia, namely, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, are the Asiatic neighbours of India, and the political, social and cultural developments in them have reacted upon India.

Afghanistan.—After the murder of Amir Habib Ullah, his third son, Amanullah, came to the throne, but he found himself surrounded with difficulties. His subjects were suspicious of his conduct, and there were factions among the nobility, and disaffection in the army. The king had to turn for help either to his northern neighbour, *i.e.*, Russia, or to the British rulers of India. He found that India was seething with discontent, and therefore sought to distract the attention of his people from internal affairs, by leading an invasion on India.

The Third Afghan War.—The attack began in April, 1919, but was soon brought to a standstill. The British forces defeated the Afghans at Dakka, and bombed Jalalabad and Kabul, and in spite of some success which the Afghans gained

at Thal, they were forced to sue for peace. The privileges enjoyed by the predecessors of Amanullah were withdrawn, and the subsidy was stopped, but the independence of Afghanistan in its foreign relations was recognised.

The Third Afghan War came to an end in 1919. Two years after the peace was concluded, a treaty was made (in 1921), which established friendly relations between the two governments. They were further strengthened by the trade convention of 1923. Amanullah's regime of reform was, however, rudely brought to an end in 1928, when civil war broke out in Afghanistan and the king was forced to abdicate. After a lapse of about a year, King Nadir Shah put an end to confusion, and re-established peace. He was unfortunately murdered on 8th November, 1933, and although his son has been declared his successor, it is difficult to forecast the future of Afghanistan. During his life Nadir Shah remained on terms of friendship with the British Government.

Although, the frontier was astir during the earlier part of the period, the fears of aggression proved groundless. Russia's interest in the North-West Frontier is really small, for at no point are her borders in contact with it, and, therefore, there is no reason for apprehension for India from her side. The internal conditions of the Asiatic countries and their general weakness and backwardness make it impossible for them to entertain any ambitious designs. But cultural developments in these countries naturally produce their effect on the Indian mind.

The North-West Frontier and the Border Region.—The North-West Frontier of India, which

divides India from the rest of Asia, starts from beyond Gilgit and ends where the foothills of Makran touch the sea. It is divided into three parts. Its northern end lies in a tangled mass of mountains where the Himalayas join the Hindu Kush. In its middle course, it runs along the mountainous country traversed by the Sulaiman range to Nushki, and thence westwards to Kohi Malik Siah. The southern end passes through the barren wastes of Panjgur and Makran to the sea. Between this frontier (known as the Durand line), and the boundary of the administered district of British Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province of India, lies the border region which dominates the great passes leading from west to east.

This region, which is peopled with tribes who have been a source of trouble throughout the history of India, may be divided into two sections—the northern which extends from the north of the Kabul river to Waziristan, and the southern which includes Waziristan itself. The northern region is largely governed by a number of important chieftains, who fight among themselves but remain usually friendly towards the British Government. But in Waziristan conditions are different. The country is poor, hilly, and infertile, and the inhabitants are wild and warlike and live by raiding and plundering. During the war and after they carried on depredations and the British Government had to undertake expeditions to punish them.

The problem of establishing permanent peace in Waziristan received much attention during this period. There were two schools of opinion regarding the solution: one advocated the Forward Policy, that is, the policy of bringing the tribes under the permanent

administration of the British. The other advocated the policy of the Closed Border, that is, the policy of complete withdrawal from the border region and the establishment of a strong line of defence between India and the border land.

The Government of India has adopted a middle course. The military have evacuated the country, but an internal control through British officers and *Khassadars* (tribal levies) has been established. Armed and fortified posts have been built to overawe the territory, and roads have been constructed to allow the influences of civilisation to penetrate the country. The Khaibar Railway opened in 1925, between Jamrud and Landikotal, serves in the northern region the same purpose as the metalled roads in Waziristan.

(ii) Internal Developments.

The internal history of India since the inauguration of the Reforms bears two aspects. In the first place, it is the history of the activities of the Government, whether in the matter of maintaining law and order, or of advancing material and moral welfare of the people. Secondly, it is the record of the efforts of the people towards self-government.

The Activities of the Government.—The Government had to face during the period two main problems—of constitutional advance and of economic distress. The first absorbed much of its attention and exercised a great strain upon its power. The second diminished its resources, prevented the undertaking of new activities and retarded the pace of beneficent and progressive measures.

Constitutional Reforms.—Lord Chelmsford

retired from the Viceroyalty of India in 1921 after ushering in the era of Reform. The Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated the new Legislature at Delhi, delivered the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, " For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy."

The Earl of Reading, who succeeded Lord Chelmsford, had to meet the demand for further political advance from the beginning of his term of office. In 1923, the Swaraj party entered the Legislative Assembly and began to press the Government for the revision of the Act of 1919.

In 1924, the Government appointed a Committee, with Sir Alexander Muddiman as its president, to examine the Act with a view to improve the working of the Reforms. The report of the Committee, however, did not lead to any important result. The Assembly, while considering the Report in 1925, urged upon the Government the desirability of summoning a representative Round Table Conference to recommend the scheme of a constitution for India.

In 1926, **Lord Irwin** was appointed the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, on the retirement of Lord Reading. In 1927 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Reforms and to consider the question of further advance. It consisted of seven members, with Sir John Simon as Chairman. Most of the leaders of Indian opinion and the Legislative Assembly refused to

co-operate with the Commission. In order to placate the Indians, Lord Irwin announced in 1929 that the British Government had decided to set up a Round Table Conference, at which the members of the Government would meet the representatives of India, *i.e.*, British India and the Indian States, for the purpose of laying agreed proposals before the British Parliament regarding the Reforms. He also formally recognised that the natural goal of India's political aspirations was the attainment of Dominion Status.

The First Round Table Conference met in London in November, 1930. The representatives of the British Government and Parliament, of the parties and communities in British India, except the Congress, and of the Indian States, met together to find a solution for the constitutional problems. There were three main questions at issue. In the first place, the question was whether the scheme of self-government should apply to British India alone, or to Greater India, consisting of British India and the Indian States. Secondly, what was the extent and scope of power which the Parliament should transfer immediately to the self-governing India. Thirdly, what safeguards should be provided in the constitution, in order to protect the communities which were in a minority, to secure the interests of certain groups and to prevent the breakdown of Government.

The Conference agreed that India should form a federation of self-governing provinces and states; that the Parliament should transfer control over the provincial administration to the people, set up a dyarchy in the Central Government reserving power over the army and foreign affairs, and provide in the constitution certain safeguards for the minorities, the commercial

INDIA IN 1932

KASHMIR
N W F PROV
PUNJAB
BALUCHISTAN AGENCY
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
RAJPUTANA
UNITED PROV
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
BIHAR & ORISSA
BENGAL
BURMA
CEN INDIA AGENCY
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BERAR
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

interests and against misrule. The exact nature of these was left to be determined by subsequent conferences.

The Second Conference met in London in 1931, after **Lord Willingdon** had assumed the office of Viceroy of India. At this conference, the Congress also participated. The proceedings were marred by the failure of the Hindus, the Muslims and the depressed classes to agree upon their proper representation in the Indian legislatures and the services. At the Third Conference (1932), the British Government produced its own scheme of reforms. This was printed in the form of a White Paper and later (1933) submitted for the scrutiny of a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament. After it had been examined and modified by the Committee it was brought before the Parliament to be embodied in the form of a statute.

The Committee presented their report in October, 1934, and the Parliament passed the Government of India Act in 1935, which is largely based on the recommendations of the Joint Committee.

The Government of India Act, 1935.—The three main principles of the Act are: (1) the establishment of an All-India Federation, (2) the autonomy of the Provinces, and (3) the transfer of responsibility both in the central and provincial governments with safeguards.

The Act provides for the establishment of the Federation of India by the Proclamation of His Majesty on a request made by both Houses of Parliament. The Federation will consist of (a) the Governor's Provinces and the Chief Commissioner's Provinces; (b) the Indian States which may accede to the Federation.

The Federal Executive.—The Executive Authority

of the Federation will be vested in His Majesty, and will be exercised on his behalf by the Governor-General, who will be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers in the exercise of his functions. But the Governor-General will have special responsibilities which he will discharge at his discretion.

Among these matters the most important are: (1) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India, (2) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government, (3) the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, (4) the safeguarding of the interests of the services, (5) the prevention of discrimination against British goods or British companies and traders, and (6) the securing of the due discharge of functions with respect to reserved subjects—namely, defence, foreign relations and ecclesiastical affairs.

The Governor-General is appointed by His Majesty. He is the head of the Federal Executive. In the reserved subjects as well as in matters of special responsibility he exercises his own discretion. He is empowered to appoint three Counsellors to assist him in the discharge of these functions and responsibilities.

All other functions are to be exercised by the Governor-General with the help and on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Its members will not exceed ten in number, and they will be chosen by the Governor-General from among the members of the Federal Legislature.

The Federal Legislature.—The Federal Legislature will consist of the Governor-General, as representative of His Majesty, and two Chambers, which will be known as the Council of State and the House of

Assembly. The Council of State will consist of 156 representatives of the Indian Provinces and not more than 104 representatives of the Indian States. The House of Assembly will consist of 250 representatives of the Indian Provinces and not more than 125 representatives of the Indian States.

Provincial Autonomy.—The Act contains provisions for the establishment of Provincial Autonomy, and creates two new Provinces—Sindh and Orissa.

Provincial Executive.—The Executive Authority of each Province will be exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor, who will be assisted and advised by a Council of Ministers. The Governor will have special responsibilities like those of the Governor-General, and will exercise them at his discretion. In the Provinces there will be no reserved subjects.

The Governor is the head of the Provincial Executive. He will receive his appointment from His Majesty and will be responsible to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State. He will exercise his functions with the help and on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The Provincial Ministers will be appointed by the Governor from among the members of the legislature.

Provincial Legislature.—There will be a Provincial Legislature in every Province which will consist of the Governor as the representative of His Majesty and of either one or two Chambers.

The Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam will have two Chambers, and the others one. The two Chambers will be known as the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.

The number of representatives differs from

Province to Province and is based on the distribution of seats among various communities and interests. Separate electorates are provided for the Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. The details of the distribution are based upon the Communal Award issued by the Government, and on the Poona Pact.

For the purpose of electing representatives to the Provincial Councils and Assemblies, each Province is to be divided into territorial constituencies consisting of electors or voters. The provisions relating to franchise will confer the right of voting on 14 per cent of the total population of India, as compared with the 3 per cent who exercised the right under the constitution of 1919.

Division of Powers.—The Act has created four legislating authorities:—

(i) the Federal Legislature;
(ii) the Provincial Legislature;
(iii) the Governor-General;
(iv) the Provincial Governors.

The Act has enumerated in two lists the subjects in relation to which the Federation and the Provinces have exclusive legislative authority, and in a third list the subjects in relation to which both possess concurrent authority.

The Governor-General has the power under certain circumstances to promulgate ordinances which will have the force of law, or to enact laws or to assume by proclamation the powers of a Federal Authority in case a failure of the constitutional machinery is threatened.

The Governor has powers similar to those of the Governor-General to promulgate ordinances or to enact laws or to assume authority by proclamation.

The Judicature.—The Act has provided for the

establishment of a Federal Court, which will consist of a Chief Justice and a number of other Judges, appointed by His Majesty.

The Federal Court will have jurisdiction in the following matters: (1) in any dispute between the Federation, any of the Provinces or any of the States; (2) in any appeal from any decision of a High Court, or a Province, or a State involving any constitutional question.

The jurisdiction of the other courts—the High Courts and the subordinate courts—is not altered, but some changes have been made in regard to the manner of appointment of the Judges.

The Secretary of State.—The Act vests all authority in relation to the affairs of India in the Crown. The Secretary of State for India is the responsible agent of the Crown for the exercise of this authority. The Governor-General and the Governors are responsible to the Secretary of State for the exercise of their special powers or when acting on their discretion. The Secretary of State is a member of the British Cabinet and of the Parliament of Great Britain to whom he is responsible for his actions. Under the old constitution he had to consult on certain matters an advisory body known as the Council of India. The new Act dissolves this Council, but in its place authorizes the Secretary of State to appoint from 3 to 6 advisers.

The Financial Administration.—The Act of 1919 completely separated the imperial from provincial finance. But both suffered more or less acutely from severe difficulties during this period. The expenditure, especially on the army, had increased enormously during the war. The revenue showed little signs of increase as trade and industry were hit by the depression

which followed the war as also by political movements. The result was that, for five years (1919-24) the Government could not meet its expenses from its income, and had to borrow money on high rates of interest. At last it was compelled to revise its budget, to reduce its expenditure and increase taxation.

The next five years (1923-28) were somewhat easier, for the Government of India had surplus balances. The period from 1928 to 1935, however, was one of increasing difficulties. An unprecedented depression overtook the trade of the world and India continues to suffer from its effects. The income of the Central Government has been declining on account of the fall of receipts from the different sources of revenue—customs, income-tax, railways, etc., and the income of the provincial governments has gone down because of the fall in land revenue. The Government has tried to reduce its expenditure but the end of the deficit years is not in sight yet.

Economic Conditions.—The finances of the Government depend largely on the economic condition of the people. India is predominantly an agricultural country and during the last fifteen years little change has occurred in her condition. Her population has indeed increased from 315 million (1921) to 351 million (1931) that is, by 10 per cent. But this increase is not a sign of prosperity, for ninety persons out of every hundred still live in villages and have to depend on the produce of the soil. The increase in population increases the pressure on land and reduces the share of each person in the total produce. Poverty, then, still crushes the people, and disease and mortality levy a heavy tribute. Nor is the condition of the middle classes

and the dwellers of towns much better. The world economic depression has imposed on them great sufferings, and the curse of unemployment which grows worse every day spreads among them discontent and bitterness.

Agriculture.—The main sources of India's wealth are agriculture and industry. The Government has done much to improve agriculture. Its agricultural departments have sought to introduce better crops, better implements and better methods of farming. The provincial governments have undertaken large schemes of irrigation works.

Industry.—The principal industries of India are textiles, jute and iron. They show a slow but steady progress since 1919. The acceptance by the Government of the principle of protection for India's industries and the appointment of a Tariff Board have helped in their growth. Recently the protection granted to the sugar industry has greatly stimulated its production in India. But the industries still play a minor part in the economic life of India.

Trade.—The trade of India has greatly fluctuated during these years. Immediately after the war there was a sudden boom which was followed by a set-back, from which she was gradually recovering, when the world conditions effected a catastrophic change, and the sale of Indian produce declined rapidly.

Currency and Exchange.—India's principal currency is in silver. Until recently the currency of Great Britain and most countries of the world was in gold. Up to 1917 the ratio between the silver rupee and the gold sovereign was as 15 to 1, *i.e.*, the value of the Indian rupee was about 1s. 4d. During the war

it rose to above 2s., but afterwards it again declined towards 1s. 4d. As the Government has to make purchases in England and to pay salaries and pensions there, it is important for it to have a stable rate of exchange, so that its expenditure may not fluctuate with the change in the rate. This rate greatly affects the merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists of India also.

A commission presided over by Commander Hilton Young advised the Government to stabilise the value of the rupee at 1s. 6d., to bring the question of currency and credit under the rule of law, and to establish a Reserve Bank for the control of currency and credit. There was strong opposition to the suggested exchange ratio of the rupee, but after a stormy debate in the Assembly in 1927, the Government adopted the ratio, and since then no change has been made.

In 1934 the Government established the Reserve Bank of India whose business is to issue bank notes, to maintain a reserve of funds in order to secure the stability of Indian finances and to operate the currency and credit system of the country.

Education and Local Self-Government.—The Reforms of 1919 recognised the principle of responsibility in the provinces, and a number of subjects were transferred to the control of the provincial legislatures. Among them the two most important were education and local self-government. So far as education is concerned, the Councils zealously promoted measures to advance education of all grades, and of both boys and girls, and the ministers took bold initiative in developing these schemes of education.

In the sphere of local self-government too there has

been progress, the Municipal and District Boards have been reconstituted on more popular lines and their powers have enhanced. But lack of experience, internal dissensions and financial difficulties have to some extent hampered their work, and some of them have not proved efficient.

Indianisation of Services.—Although the problem of transference of power from the hands of the British people into those of the people of India mainly occupied the attention of the Government, the question of replacing European officers by Indians in the services, so that the transference of power may become possible, has been intimately connected with it, and during this period steps were taken to solve it. The services which the Indian Government maintains may be divided into two—Military and Civil.

The Army.—The Indian army continues to consist of a number of units of the regular British force and a number of units of the Indian force. In the British force the privates or ordinary soldiers and officers are all British. In the Indian force the soldiers and the non-commissioned officers are Indian, but the commissioned officers belong to two classes—those who hold the Viceroy's Commission, and those who hold the King's Commission. The first class of officers are inferior to the second and they are Indians. Since 1917 when Indians became first eligible to the King's Commission, a small number have been appointed every year to the eight units of the army. But the progress of Indianisation was too slow and the desire of the Indians to take the responsibility of the defence of the country on their own shoulders was so keen, that the Government appointed a committee with Sir Andrew Skeen

as President, to investigate the matter and make recommendations for improving the supply of Indian officers.

The committee made a report in April, 1927, but its recommendations were not accepted by the Government. In 1931 after the First Round Table Conference the Government announced a scheme of a more rapid extension of the Indian element in the army.

The Civil Services.—In 1919, the Government had definitely laid down the percentage of Indians which should be recruited to the higher branches of the various services, and had decided to hold an examination for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service in India. In 1923 a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Lee recommended the employment of larger percentages of Indians in these services. But this did not satisfy Indian public opinion; what made things worse was that the commission increased the emoluments and privileges of the members of the services, and added to the cost of administration.

Under the Government of India Act of 1935 the Secretary of State is to continue to make the appointments to Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, and the Indian Police Service. He will regulate the conditions of service, and protection against dismissal or punishment is provided by making the Governor and the Governor-General specially responsible for the security of the services.

(iii) The National Movement

The period inaugurated by the Reforms has been a critical one in the recent history of India. It has seen wave after wave of unrest pass over

the country. The upheaval has not been confined to the political field only, but has affected every phase of national life, and stirred society to its depths. Its causes are both economic and political. Just after the war high prices and failure of rains combined to produce much distress. Later, the economic depression which overtook the world gave a severe blow to India's prosperity. The demand for India's agricultural and other products diminished, prices came down rapidly and the monetary returns for the crops fell low.

The cultivators were unable to pay rents according to the prevailing rates, and had little money to spend on the purchase of goods. The volume of trade decreased, the revenue of the Government declined and all classes of Indian society felt acute hardships. The labourers and the peasants suffered from lack of money and pressure of poverty; the educated middle class suffered from increasing unemployment; the merchants and businessmen from falling profits and uncertainty of trade; and the landlords from loss in rent. Thus widespread distress prevailed.

Political causes added to the unrest. The war had lowered the prestige of the West and raised the self-respect of the eastern peoples. The declarations of the leaders of the victorious allies had aroused high expectations among the subject nations. The announcement of the British statesmen gave a strong impetus to the desire for self-determination. India was growing conscious of her national unity and aspired for the speedy attainment of Swaraj.

Unfortunately, the constitutional reforms introduced by the Government in 1919 did not satisfy the people, and its subsequent measures and policies created much

doubt and despondency. The Muslim community were specially perturbed by the treaty of the allies with Turkey, which deprived her of her suzerainty over the holy lands of Islam. The era of Reforms thus began in a tense atmosphere which grew worse from year to year.

The Political Parties.—In 1916, the split which had divided Indian political leaders was healed, and Liberals and Nationalists became united under one organisation. But by 1920 the Nationalists had captured the organisation and since then the Congress has remained under their control. The Indian National Congress has placed before the country progressively the goal of full responsible government, Dominion Status and Purna Swaraj. It has advocated Satyagraha, non-violent non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, as the methods for the attainment of the goal.

Among its leaders Mahatma Gandhi is undoubtedly the greatest. He combines in him the qualities of a mediæval saint and a modern political leader. He lives the life of utter self-renunciation with his gaze fixed at truth. He loves all men and wears himself out in the service of the poor and the humble. He knows no fear, his enthusiasm is boundless and he possesses tireless energy. In spite of his peculiar views on social and economic problems, his burning love for India has endeared him to his countrymen, and by virtue of the nobility of his character he has won the respect and admiration of the world. He has led the Congress and the country during the period, and endeavoured to achieve Swaraj by the method of self-purification and suffering.

The Liberals who had kept the reins of the Congress in their hands from 1907 to 1916 soon found after the admission of the Nationalists into the Congress in 1916,

that they could not co-operate with them. The two parties differed in their aims and methods fundamentally, and, therefore, the Liberals organised the National Liberal Federation which first met in 1918, with Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea as the President. Although the following of the Liberals is small, they include among them some of the ablest Indian leaders; of them the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Mr. Srinivas Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are the most noted.

The Muslim League which came into being in 1906 continued to stand aloof from the Congress. But by 1916 it had adopted the Congress aim, and in that year it made a pact with the Congress on the question of communal representation, which was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. The League exercised little influence from 1919 to 1924, as Muslim opinion was mainly guided by the Khilafat Committee during this period. In 1928 another Muslim organisation came into existence, which was known as the All-Parties Muslim Conference. The aim of the Conference has been to obtain certain safeguards for the Muslim community in the future Indian constitution, with the help of the British Government. The most important leader of the Muslim Conference is His Highness the Agha Khan, and of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah.

The Hindus and the Sikhs have also established separate organisations, in order to introduce social reforms in their communities and to secure political privileges for them. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the most respected leader of the Hindus.

The Movement.—In the year 1919, before the introduction of the Reforms, the first wave of unrest and agitation broke upon the country. In the early part of

1919 the Government introduced two bills in the legislature, to secure certain powers for the administration to deal with revolutionary crimes. They were known as the Rowlatt Bills. Their introduction aroused vehement opposition and when they were passed, in spite of many protests, Mahatma Gandhi started his campaign of Satyagraha against them. The movement spread rapidly all over the country and both Hindus and Muslims supported it. But as excitement grew, mobs committed violence in some places. Martial law was proclaimed in the Punjab and fire was opened on a meeting at Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar which caused many deaths. In view of the disturbances Mahatma Gandhi suspended the movement. The Government appointed an enquiry committee and on receiving its report censured the officer who had given the order to fire.

When the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919 became known in India, the Liberals welcomed the Reforms and resolved upon working them in order to demonstrate India's fitness for greater responsibility, and to hasten the goal of self-government. The Congress, however, regarded them as inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory. The memories of the Martial Law regime in the Punjab and the anxiety of the Indian Muslims on behalf of Turkey created a situation in which the constitutional programme of the Liberals fell flat on the country.

In order to undo the Punjab wrongs, to secure the objects of the Muslims in regard to the Khilafat, and to attain Swaraj, Mahatma Gandhi urged the use of the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. The Congress and the Khilafat Committee accepted the suggestion of

Mahatma Gandhi. National volunteers were enrolled and the Tilak Swaraj Fund was collected to carry on the campaign.

The Congress, however, failed to accomplish its programme. The elections to the legislatures took place and though Congressmen boycotted them, the Liberals and others entered them. Indian ministers were appointed in charge of the transferred departments. But the non-co-operation movement caused a great deal of excitement and turmoil, and the Government began to take action against the Congress leaders. Conflicts, riots and disturbances followed. The worst outbreak took place on the Malabar Coast and at Chauri-chaura (United Provinces). Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that the atmosphere of non-violence which was necessary for the success of his campaign was wanting and he suspended the campaign. Soon after he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The Hindu-Muslim unity was shattered by the Moplah rebellion on the Malabar Coast, which aroused Hindu fears, and the triumphs of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey, which led to the abolition of the Khilafat.

The Congress itself became divided on the question of entry into the legislatures as advocated by the Swaraj Party, led by Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. In 1923 the newly-formed Swaraj Party contested the elections and although it did not obtain a majority in the Assembly, quite a number of its followers entered the legislature to offer organised opposition to the Government. They endeavoured to put pressure on the Government to introduce in India responsible government on the Dominion model, and succeeded in persuading

it to appoint the Muddiman Committee in 1924. But its report did not lead to any important consequences. In 1927, however, the Government appointed the Commission presided over by Sir John Simon, to enquire into the working of the Reforms and to suggest changes in the constitution of India.

The years from 1922-28 were marked by savage outbursts of communal antagonism. Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in different parts of the country and they were accompanied with terrible atrocities. Many efforts were made to bring about reconciliation between the communities, but they failed.

The Simon Commission, which met with intense opposition, aroused hopes of a communal settlement; for the Congress, the Liberals, the Muslim League and the Assembly united in refusing to co-operate with it, and the parties jointly appointed a committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru to draw up a constitution which would satisfy all communities. Unfortunately the Nehru Report did not receive a favourable response in the country.

The opposition to the Simon Commission, however, did not diminish, nor did communal bitterness abate. To relieve the tension Lord Irwin announced the intention of the Government to call a Round Table Conference of the Indian leaders, the representatives of the Government, and the Parliament, in order to draw up an agreed constitution.

At this stage the Congress leaders announced that if India was not given Dominion Status within a year they would start a movement in favour of complete independence. In March, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi began the Civil Disobedience Campaign with a march from

Ahmedabad to the sea coast where he broke the Salt Laws. The movement spread like wildfire, and thousands of persons went to gaol. Meanwhile the First Round Table Conference had met in London and achieved notable success. Before the gathering of the Second Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi had been released, and he had arrived at an agreement with Lord Irwin regarding the Civil Disobedience Campaign. He attended the Second Conference in London, but unfortunately his efforts to solve the communal problem failed and he returned to India dissatisfied. He was placed under arrest and the Congress activities were declared unlawful by the Government. The third meeting of the Conference was held in 1932 and its conclusions were embodied in a White Paper.

They aroused a great deal of opposition in India. The proposals regarding the representation of the various communities were severely criticized. The transfer of authority was regarded as inadequate and the provisions concerning special responsibilities, safeguards and reservations were considered unsatisfactory.

The agitation in India, however, failed to produce any modification of the proposals embodied in the White Paper. Only the provisions concerning the representation of the Depressed Classes were modified as a result of the strong protest of Mahatma Gandhi, whose fast brought about an agreement—known as the Poona Pact—between the leaders of the Hindus and the Depressed Classes which was accepted by the British Government.

The White Paper was examined by the Joint Select Committee, and on the basis of its recommendations

Parliament placed the Government of India Act of 1935 on the Statute Book.

Although the period which began with the Reform Act of 1919, as the first step on the road to full self-government, ends in 1935 without the attainment of that goal, it marks a great and permanent advance towards it. There has been a remarkable awakening in the country, the idea of Swaraj has penetrated to its remotest corners, and every community has accepted it as the natural goal of India's political aspirations. Political awakening has brought with it a new sense of social justice, a desire to rectify old wrongs and to remove inequalities. It has also aroused a higher sense of citizenship, of rights which one may claim from the state, and of duties which one ought to render to it. The new constitution has secured for India the external framework of her unity. What is needed is that the citizen should realize that the well-being of the individual and of the community cannot be secured without securing the welfare of the nation as a whole, for it is in the nation that both the individual and the community find the opportunity to attain their best life and their fullest development. When this feeling has acquired the strength of an absorbing passion the tendencies that divide will vanish, the need for outside support will cease and Indian Swaraj will become a living reality.

APPENDIX

The Governors-General (1772-1936)

WARREN HASTINGS (1772-85).

DYNASTIC LISTS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

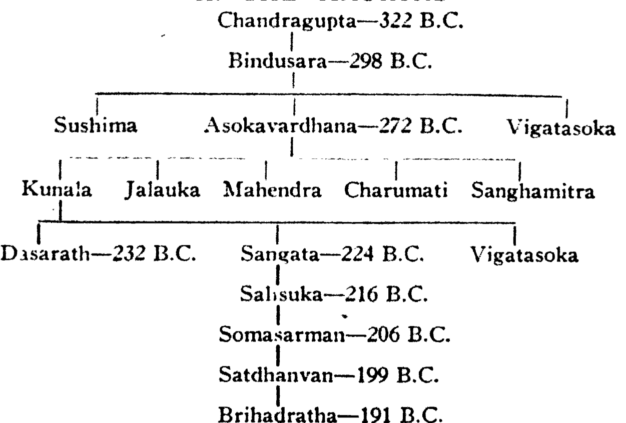
I. PRE-MAURYAN DYNASTIES OF MAGADHA

(i.) Line of Nagas or Bimbisara.
1. Bhattiya.
2. Bimbisara Srenika.
3. Ajatasatru.
4. Udayin.
5. Dāsaka (Darsaka).

(ii.) Saisunaga Dynasty.
1. Sisunaga.
2. Kālāsoka (Kākavarna).
3. Nandivardhana.

(iii.) Nanda Dynasty.
1. Mahāpadma.
2. Sons of Mahāpadma

II. THE MAURYAS



III. SUNGA DYNASTY

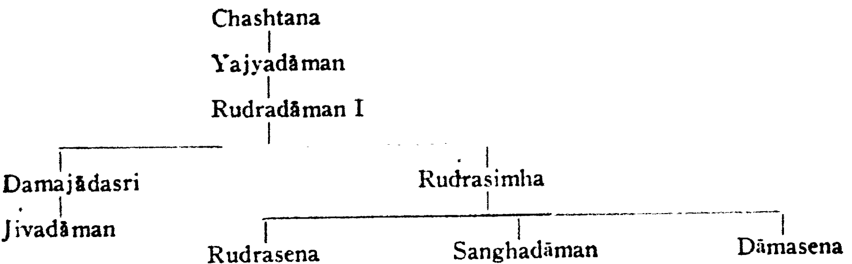
1. Pushyamitra Sunga—185 B.C.

- 2. Agnimitra
  - 4. Vasumitra
    - 9. Bhagvata
    - 10. Devabhuti
- 3. Vasujyeshtha

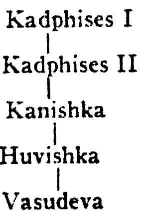
IV. SATAVAHANAS

No.	Name	Dates	No.	Name	Dates
1.	Simuka	205—182 B.C. / 213—190	17.	Kuntala	75—83 A.D
2.	Krishna	182—172 / 190	18.	Sundara Satakarni	83—84
3.	Satakarni I	172—162	19.	Vasishthiputra Pulumayi II	84—88
4.	Purnotsanga	162—144	20.	Mathariputra Siva Swami I	88—116
5.	Skandastambhi	144—126	21.	Gautamiputra Pulumayi III	116—144
6.	Lambodara	126—118	22.	Vasishthiputra Chatarvatu Satakarni	144—157
7.	Meghavati	118—100	23.	Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni	157—186
8.	Gautamiputra Satakarni II	100—44	24.	Satakarni III	186—215
9.	Vasishthiputra Sri Vilavaya Pulumayi I	44—8	25.	Vasishthiputra Siva Sri II	215—222
10.	Sri Krishna	8—17 A.D.	26.	Sivaskanda	222
11.	Hāla	17—21	27.	Vijaya	222—228
12.	Pattalaka	21—26	28.	Vas. Chandra Sri Satakarni	228—231
13.	Purikasena	26—47	29.	Pulumayi III	231—238
14.	Svati	47—65			
15.	Skandsvati	65—72			
16.	Mahendra Satakarni	72—75			

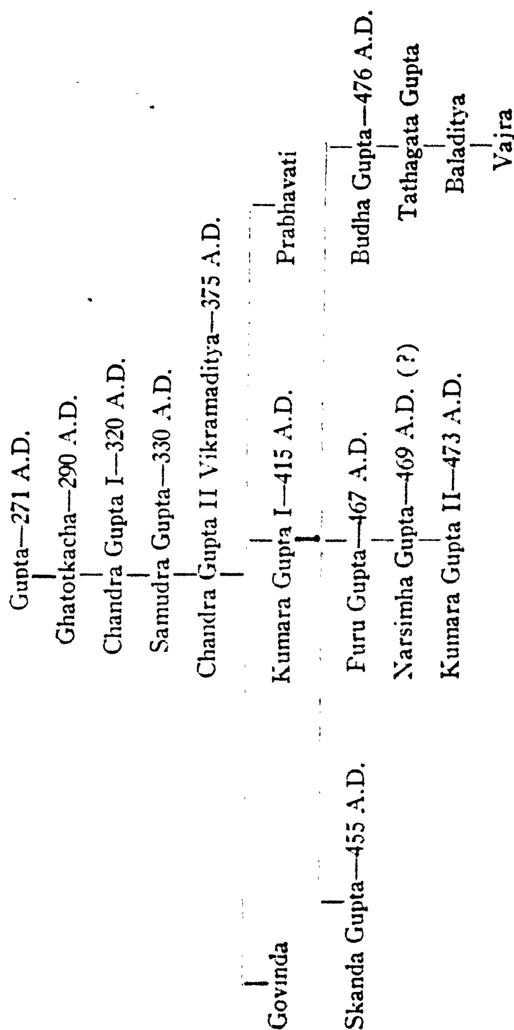
V.—SAKAS OF UJJAIN



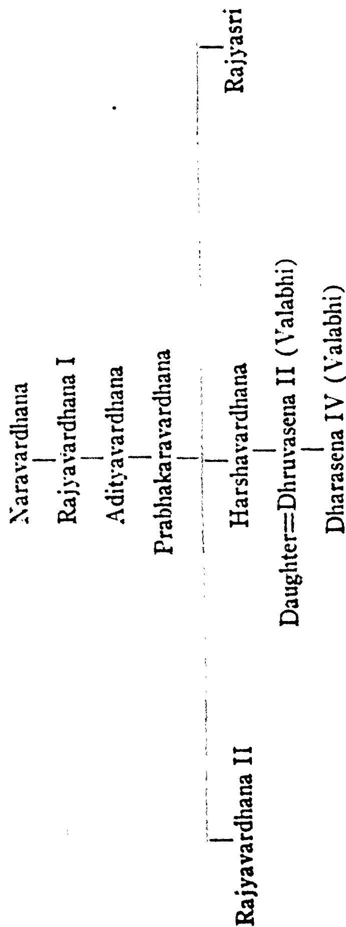
VI.—KUSHAN DYNASTY



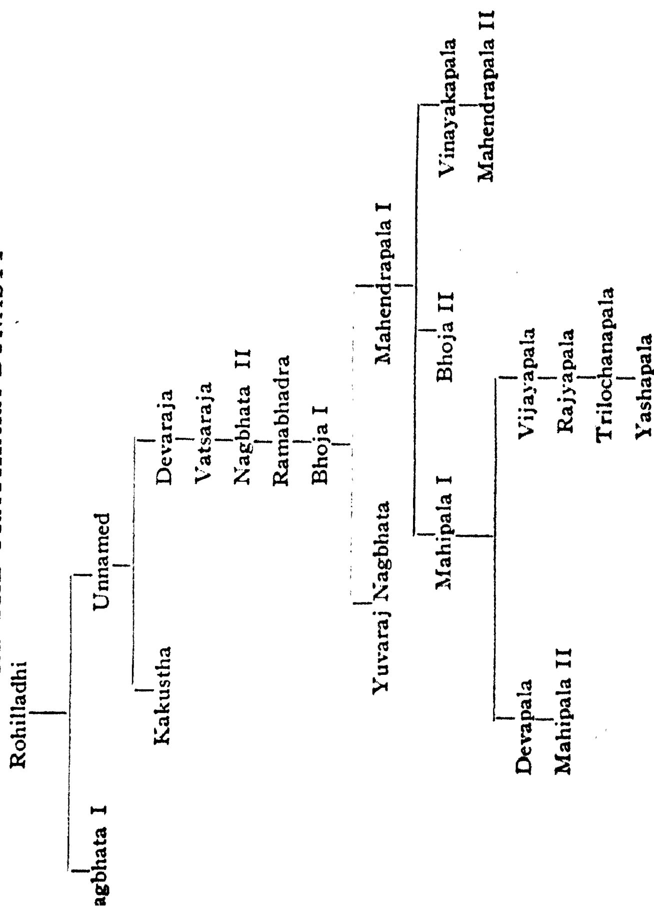
VII.—THE GUPTA DYNASTY

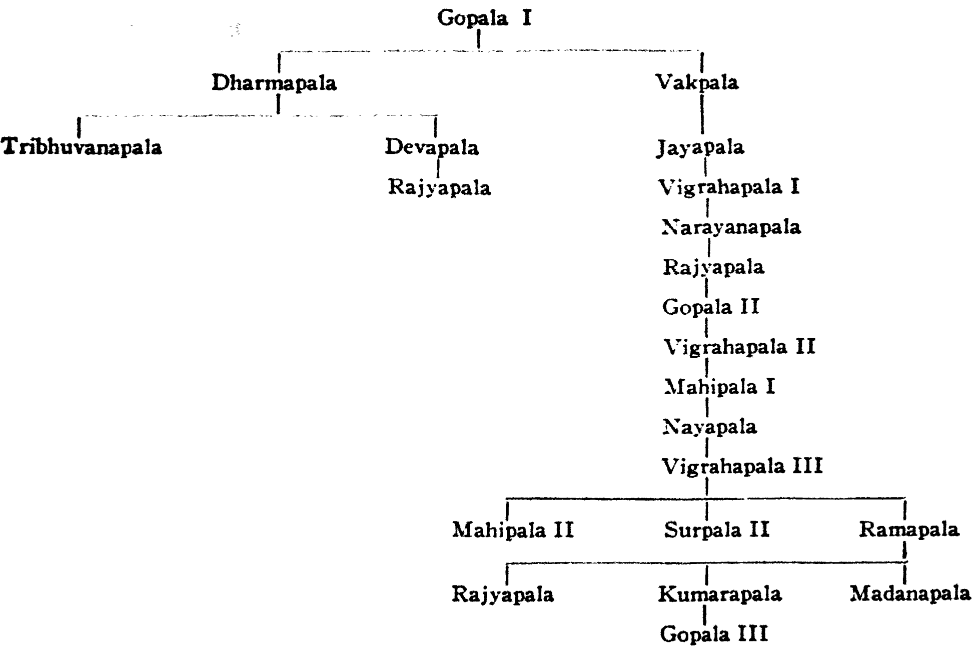


VIII.—THE VARDHANA DYNASTY OF THANESHWAR AND KANAUJ



IX. THE PRATIHARA DYNASTY




X. THE PALA DYNASTY OF BENGAL
Gopala I
Dharmapala
Vakpala
Tribhuvanapala
Devapala
Rajyapala
Jayapala
Vigrahapala I
Narayanapala
Rajyapala
Gopala II
Vigrahapala II
Mahipala I
Nayapala
Vigrahapala III
Mahipala II
Surpala II
Ramapala
Rajyapala
Kumarapala
Madanapala
Gopala III

XI. THE SENAS OF BENGAL

Virasena
|
Samantasena
|
Hemantasena
|
Vijayasena
|
Vallalasena
|
Lakshmanasena
|
Visvarupasena — Kesavasena

XII. THE GAHADVALA DYNASTY OF KANAUJ

Yasovigraha
|
Mahichandra
|
Chandradeva (Kanauj and Benares)
|
Madanapala
|
Govindachandra
|
Vijayachandra
|
Jayachandra
|
Harishchandra — Samyukta

DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN

CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI, 550—753 A.D.

1.	Pulakēsin I	550
2.	Kīrtivarman I	566-7
3.	Mangalesá	577-8
4.	Pulakēsin II	608
	Interruption from	624-55
5.	Vikramāditya I	655
6.	Vinayāditya	680
7.	Vijayāditya	696
8.	Vikramāditya II	733
9.	Kīrtivarman II	746

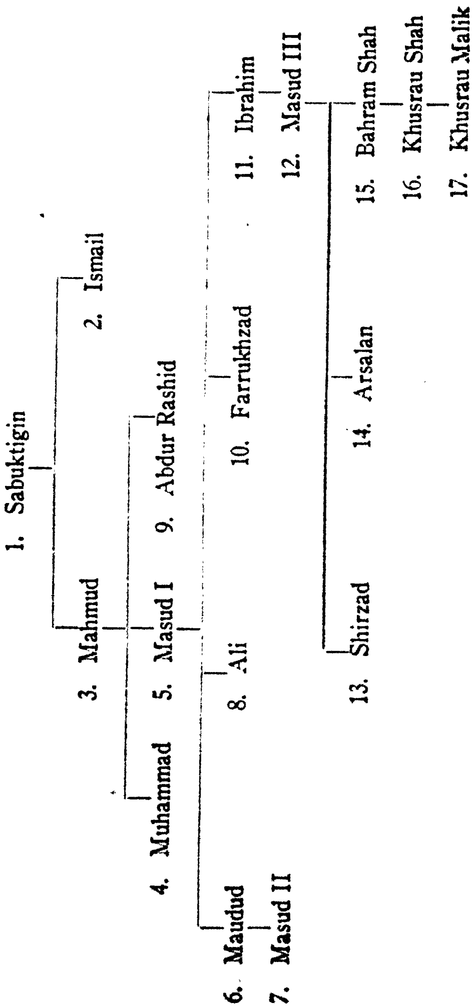
CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI, 973—1190 A.D.

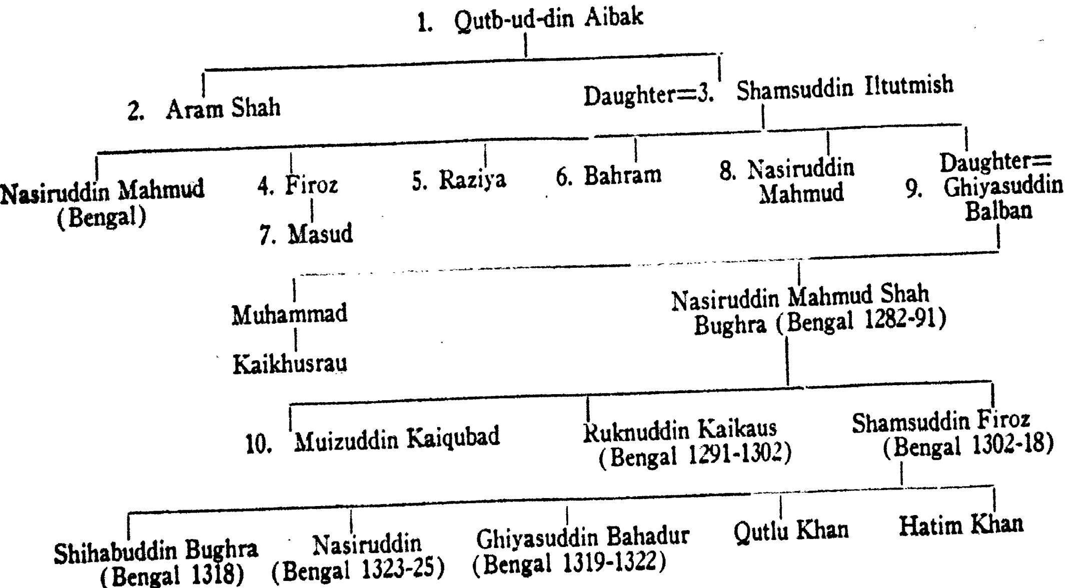
1.	Tailapa II	973
2.	Satyāsraya	997
3.	Vikramāditya V	1009
4.	Jayasimha I	1016
5.	Somesvara I	1042
6.	Somesvara II	1075
7.	Vikramāditya VI	1075-76
8.	Somesvara III	1125
9.	Perma-Jagadekamalla	1138
10.	Tailapa III	1149
11.	Somesvara IV	1162

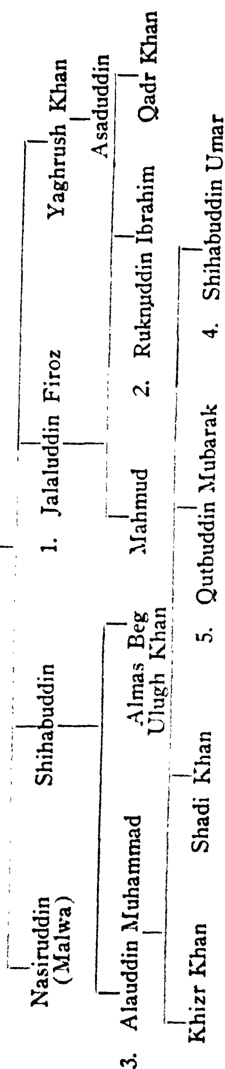
RASHTRAKUTAS OF MANYAKHETA 753—973 A.D.

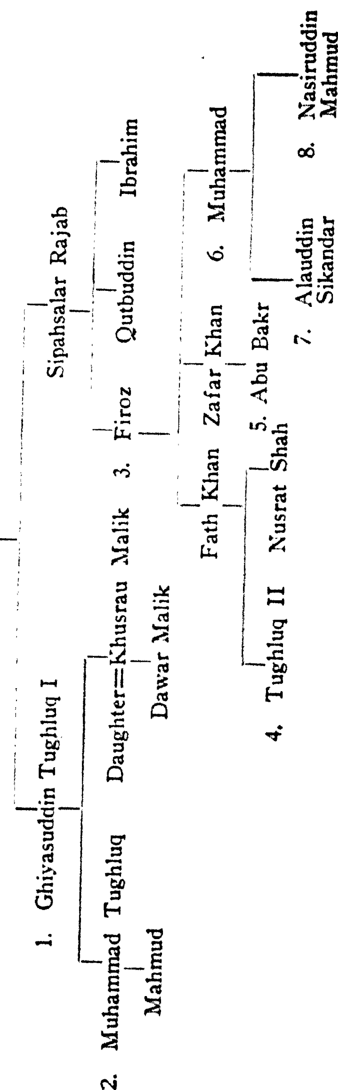
1.	Dantidurga	753
2.	Krishna I	760
3.	Govinda I	775
4.	Dhruva	780
5.	Govinda II	793
6.	Amoghavarsha I	815
7.	Krishna II	880
8.	Indra III	912
9.	Amoghavarsha II	916
10.	Govinda IV	917
11.	Amoghavarsha III	935
12.	Krishna III	940
13.	Khothiga	965
14.	Kakka II	972

THE GHAZNAVIDES (YAMINI DYNASTY) OF GHAZNI AND LAHORE




THE SLAVE KINGS OF DELHI
1. Qutb-ud-din Aibak
2. Aram Shah
Daughter=3. Shamsuddin Iltutmish
Nasiruddin Mahmud (Bengal)
4. Firoz
7. Masud
5. Raziya
6. Bahram
8. Nasiruddin Mahmud
Daughter= 9. Ghiyasuddin Balban
Muhammad
Kaikhusrau
Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah Bughra (Bengal 1282-91)
10. Muizuddin Kaiqubad
Ruknuddin Kaikaus (Bengal 1291-1302)
Shamsuddin Firoz (Bengal 1302-18)
Shihabuddin Bughra (Bengal 1318)
Nasiruddin (Bengal 1323-25)
Ghiyasuddin Bahadur (Bengal 1319-1322)
Qutlu Khan
Hatim Khan


THE KHALJIS
Tulak Khan of Qunduz
Nasiruddin (Malwa)
Shihabuddin
1. Jalaluddin Firoz
Yaghrush Khan
3. Alauddin Muhammad
Almas Beg Ulugh Khan
Mahmud
2. Ruknuddin Ibrahim
Asaduddin
Qadr Khan
Khizr Khan
Shadi Khan
5. Qutbuddin Mubarak
4. Shihabuddin Umar


THE TUGHLUQS
1. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq I
Sipahsalar Rajab
2. Muhammad Tughluq
Daughter=Khusrau Malik
3. Firoz
Qutbuddin
Ibrahim
Mahmud
Dawar Malik
Fath Khan
Zafar Khan
6. Muhammad
4. Tughluq II
Nusrat Shah
5. Abu Bakr
7. Alauddin Sikandar
8. Nasiruddin Mahmud

THE SAYYIDS

- Malik Sulaiman
  - 1. Khizr Khan
    - 2. Muizzuddin Mubarak
    - Farid
      - 3. Muhammad
        - 4. Alauddin Alam Shah

THE LODIS

- Malik Bahram Lodi
  - Sultan Shah
    - Qutb Khan
    - Daughter=1. Buhlul
  - Kālā
    - 1. Buhlul
      - Khvaja Bayazid
      - Barbak Shah (Jaunpur)
      - 2. Nizam Khan Sikandar Shah
        - 3. Ibrahim
        - Ismail
        - Husain
        - Mahmud
      - Mubarak
      - Alam
      - Yaqub
      - Fath Khan
      - Musa
      - Jalal Khan
  - Firoz
    - Shahin Khan
  - Muhammad
  - Malik Khvaja

THE PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

I.—SHARQI KINGS OF JAUNPUR

	A.D.
Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan	1394
Mubarak Shah	1399
Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah	1402
Mahmud Shah	1436
Muhammad Shah	1458
Husain Shah	1458

1. Khvaja Jahan
   - 2. Mubarak Shah
   - 3. Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah
     - 4. Mahmud Shah
       - 5. Muhammad Shah
       - 6. Husain Shah

II.—THE KINGS OF GUJARAT

	A.D.
Muzaffar I	1396
Ahmad I	1411
Muhammad I	1442
Qutbuddin	1451
Daud	1458
Mahmud I	1458
Muzaffar II	1511
Sikandar	1526
Mahmud II	1526
Bahadur	1526
Muhammad II	1537
Mahmud III	1537
Ahmad II	1554
Muzaffar III	1562-72

III.—THE KINGS OF MALWA

1. Ghuris.

	A.D.
Dilawar Khan Ghuri	1392
Hushang Shah	1405
Muhammad Shah	1435
Masud	1436

2. Khaljis.

Mahmud I	1436
Ghiyasuddin	1469
Nasiruddin	1500
Mahmud II	1510-31

(Kings of Gujarat.)

IV.—THE FARUQI KHANS AND KINGS OF KHANDESH

	A.D.
Raja Ahmad, Malik Raja	1382
Nasir Khan	1399
Adil Khan I	1437
Mubarak Khan Chankanda	1441
Adil Khan II "Aina"	1457
Daud Khan	1501
Ghazni Khan	1508
Hasan Khan	1508
Alam Khan (Usurper)	1508
Adil Khan III	1509
Miran Muhammad Shah I	1520
Ahmad Shah	1537
Mubarak Shah II	1537
Muhammad Shah II	1566
Hasan Shah	1576-77
Adil Shah IV	1577-78
Bahadur Shah	1597-1601

V.—BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DECCAN

	A.D.
Alauddin Bahman Shah	1347
Muhammad I	1358
Mujahid	1375
Daud	1378
Muhammad II	1378
Ghiyasuddin	1397
Shamsuddin	1397
Tajuddin Firoz	1397
Ahmad Vati	1422
Alauddin Ahmad	1436
Humayun, Talim	1458
Nizam	1461
Muhammad III, Lashkari	1463
Mahmud	1482
Ahmad	1518
Alauddin	1521
Waliullah	1522
Kalimullah	1525-27

(Break up into five kingdoms)

THE FIVE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

I. THE ADIL SHAHI KINGS OF BIJAPUR

Yusuf Adil Shah	1490 A.D.
Ismail Adil Shah	1510
Mallu Adil Shah	1534
Ibrahim Adil Shah I	1534
Ali Adil Shah I	1558
Ibrahim Adil Shah II	1580
Muhammad Adil Shah	1627
Ali Adil Shah II	1657
Sikander Adil Shah	1672-86

II. THE NIZAM SHAHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR

Ahmad Nizam Shah	1490 A.D.
Burhān Nizam Shah	1509
Husain Nizam Shah I	1553
Murtazā Nizam Shah I	1565
Husain Nizam Shah II	1586
Ismail Nizam Shah	1589
Burhān Nizam Shah II	1591
Ibrahim Nizam Shah	1595
Bahadur Nizam Shah	1596
Ahmad (Usurper)	1596
Murtazā Nizam Shah II	1603
Husain Nizam Shah III	1630-33

III. THE QUTB SHAHI KINGS OF GOLKONDA

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah	1512 A.D.
Jamshid Qutb Shah	1543
Subhan Quli Qutb Shah	1550
Ibrahim Qutb Shah	1550
Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah	1580
Muhammad Qutb Shah	1612
Abdullah Qutb Shah	1626
Abul Hasan Qutb Shah	1672-87

IV. THE IMAD SHAHI KINGS OF BERAR

Fathullah Imad Shah	1490 A.D.
Alauddin Imad Shah	1504
Darya Imad Shah	1529
Burhān Imad Shah	1562-74

(Incorporated—Ahmadnagar.)

V. THE BARID SHAHI KINGS OF BIDAR

Amir Qasim Barid	1487 A.D.
Amir Ali Barid	1504
Ali Barid Shah I	1542
Ibrahim Barid Shah	1579
Qasim Barid Shah II	1586
Amir Barid Shah	1589
Mirza Ali Barid Shah	1601
Ali Barid Shah II	1609-19

(Incorporated—Bijāpur.)

THE KINGS OF SIND

		A.D.
(*a*). JAMS	Jam Umar	1336
	Jam Juna	1340
	Jam Banhatiya	1344
	Jam Timaji	1359
	Jam Salahuddin	1371
	Jam Ali Sher	1382
	Jam Karan	1388
	Jam Fath Khan	1389
	Jam Tughluq	1399
	Mubarak (Usurper)	1427
	Jam Sikandar	1427
	Jam Sanjar	1428
	Jam Nizamuddin	1437
	Jam Firoz	1494
(*b*). ARGHUNS	Mirza Shah Beg Arghun	1521
	Mirza Husain Arghun	1524
(*c*). TARKHANS	Mirza Muhammad Isa Tarkhan	1556
	Mirza Muhammad Bagi Tarkhan	1567
	Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan	1585-91

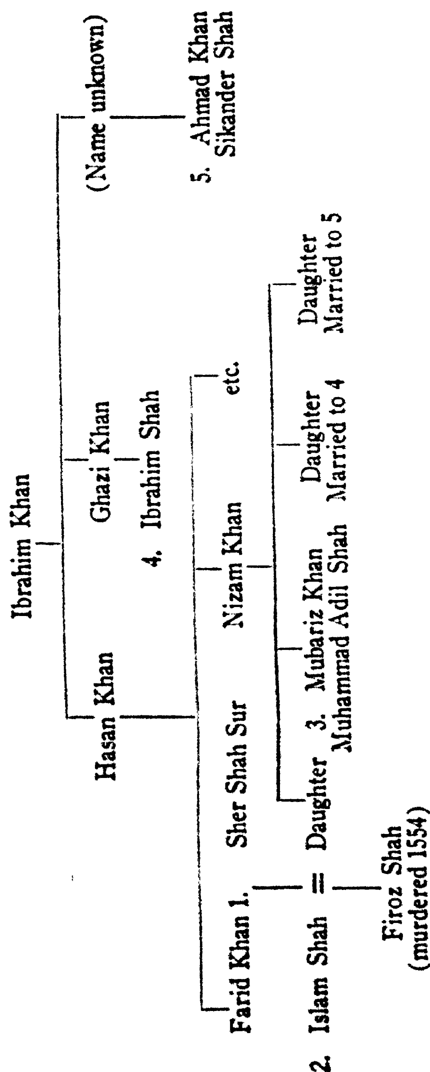
THE KINGS OF BENGAL

E. Bengal only.

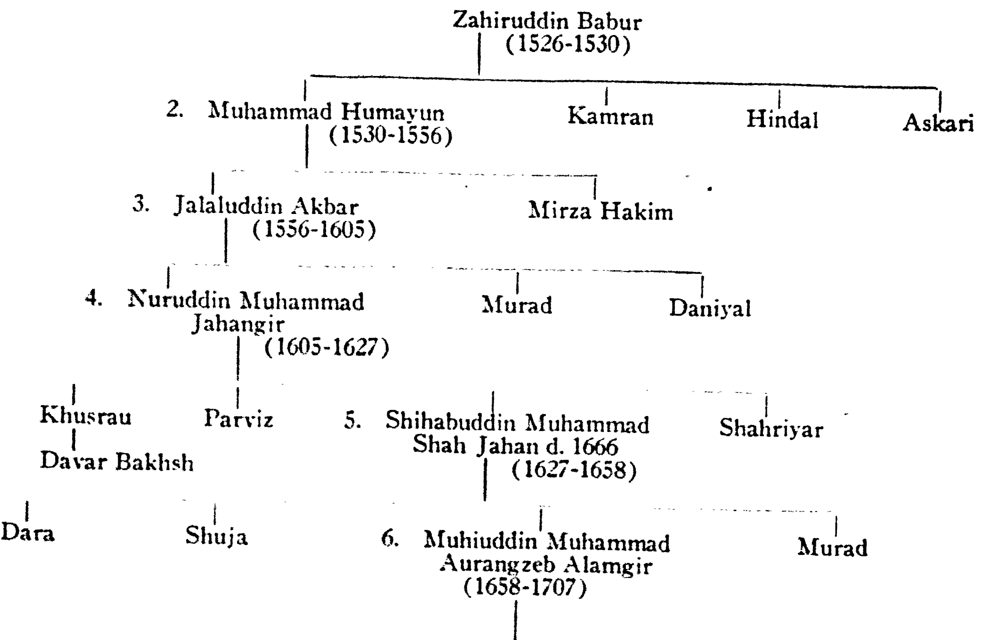
	A.D.
Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah ..	1338
Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah ..	1349

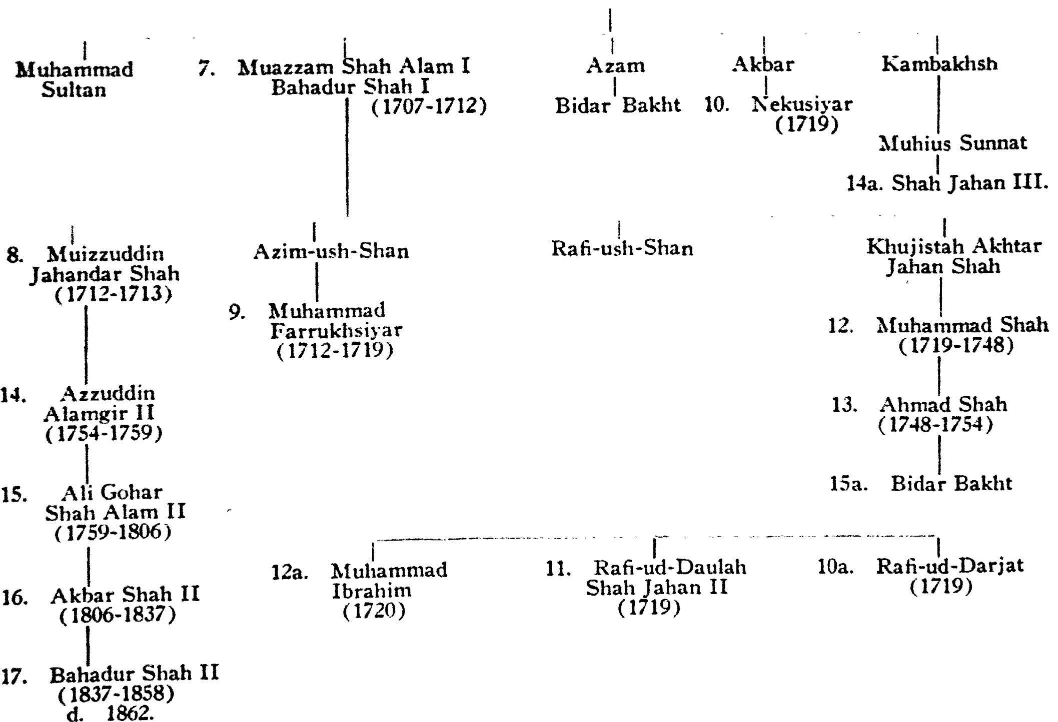
W. Bengal only.

	A.D.
Alauddin Ali Shah	1341
Haji Shamsuddin Ilyas Bhangara	1343
Sikandar Shah	1357
Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah ..	1393
Saifuddin Hamza	1410
Shihabuddin Bayazid	1412
Ganesh of Bhadura (Kans Narayan)	1414
Jadu *alias* Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah	1414
Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah ..	1431
Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah ..	1442
Ruknuddin Barbak Shah ..	1460
Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah ..	1474
Sikandar Shah	1481
Jalaluddin Fath Shah	1481
Barbak the Eunuch, Sultan Shahzada	1486
Malik Indil, Firoz Shah ..	1486
Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah ..	1489
Sidi Badr, Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah	1490
Saujid Alauddin Husain Sharifi-Mukki	1493
Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah ..	1518
Alauddin Firoz Shah	1533
Sultan Mahmud	1533
(Humayun, Emperor of Delhi ..	1538)
(Sher Shah Sur	1539)
Khizr Khan	1540
Muhammad Khan Sur ..	1545
Khizr Khan, Bahadur Shah ..	1555
Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah ..	1561
(Son of Jalal Shah)	1564
Taj Khan Kararani	1564
Sulaiman Kararani	1572
Bayazid Khan Kararani ..	1572
Daud Khan Kararani	1572-76


THE SUR KINGS OF DELHI—1540-55 A.D.
Ibrahim Khan
Hasan Khan
Ghazi Khan
(Name unknown)
4. Ibrahim Shah
5. Ahmad Khan
Sikander Shah
Farid Khan 1.
Sher Shah Sur
Nizam Khan
etc.
2. Islam Shah
=
Daughter
3. Mubariz Khan
Muhammad Adil Shah
Daughter
Married to 4
Daughter
Married to 5
Firoz Shah
(murdered 1554)

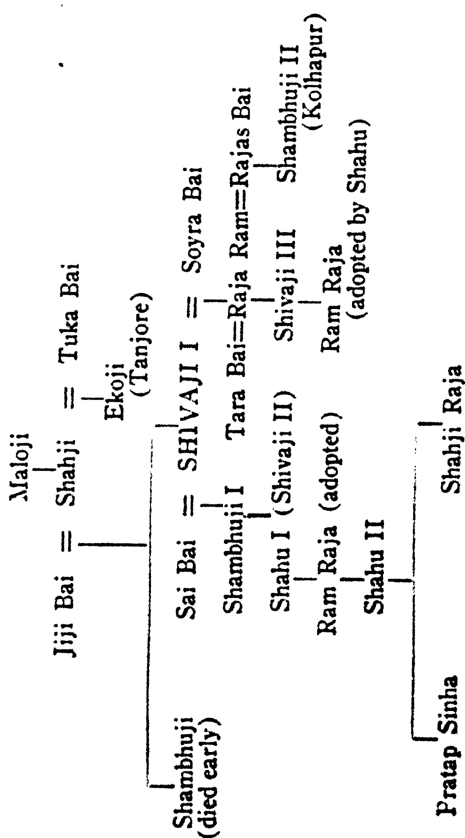
THE TIMURID DYNASTY (THE MUGHALS OF DELHI AND AGRA)

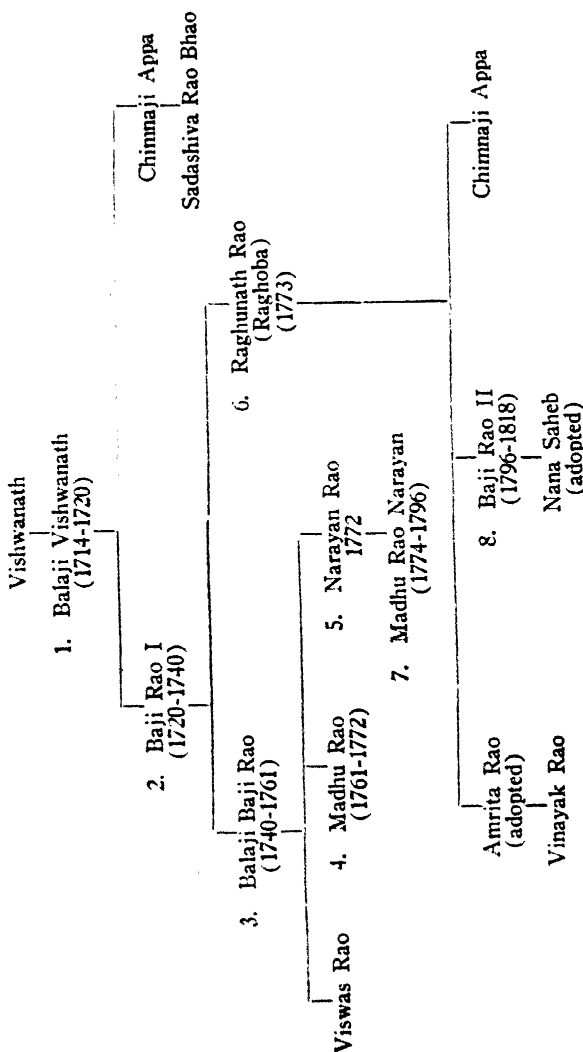



Muhammad Sultan
7. Muazzam Shah Alam I Bahadur Shah I (1707-1712)
Azam
Akbar
Kambakhsh
Bidar Bakht
10. Nekusiyar (1719)
Muhius Sunnat
14a. Shah Jahan III.
8. Muizzuddin Jahandar Shah (1712-1713)
Azim-ush-Shan
Rafi-ush-Shan
Khujistah Akhtar Jahan Shah
9. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar (1712-1719)
12. Muhammad Shah (1719-1748)
14. Azzuddin Alamgir II (1754-1759)
13. Ahmad Shah (1748-1754)
15. Ali Gohar Shah Alam II (1759-1806)
15a. Bidar Bakht
16. Akbar Shah II (1806-1837)
12a. Muhammad Ibrahim (1720)
11. Rafi-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II (1719)
10a. Rafi-ud-Darjat (1719)
17. Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858) d. 1862.

THE MARATHAS

THE BHONSLA CHHATRAPATI (RAJAS OF SATARA)




THE PESHWAS OF POONA
Vishwanath
1. Balaji Vishwanath (1714-1720)
2. Baji Rao I (1720-1740)
Chimnaji Appa
Sadashiva Rao Bhao
3. Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761)
6. Raghunath Rao (Raghoba) (1773)
Viswas Rao
4. Madhu Rao (1761-1772)
5. Narayan Rao 1772
7. Madhu Rao Narayan (1774-1796)
Amrita Rao (adopted)
Vinayak Rao
8. Baji Rao II (1796-1818)
Nana Saheb (adopted)
Chimnaji Appa

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

(Temporary and Officiating underlined)

		A. D.
1.	Warren Hastings	1774—1785
	(Sir John Macpherson ..	1785—1786)
2.	Earl Cornwallis	1786—1793
3.	Sir John Shore	1793—1798
	(Sir A. Clarke	1798)
4.	Marquess Wellesley	1798—1805
5.	Marquess Cornwallis	1805—July to October
	(Sir George Barlow ..	1805—1807)
6.	Lord Minto	1807—1813
7.	Marquess of Hastings ..	1813—1823
	(John Adam	1823—January to August)
8.	Lord Amherst	1823—1828
	(William Butterworth Bayley ..	1828—March to July)
9.	Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck	1828—1835
	(Sir Charles Metcalfe ..	1835—1836)
10.	Lord Auckland	1836—1842
11.	Lord Ellenborough	1842—1844
	(William Wilberforce Bird ..	1844—June—July)
12.	Viscount Henry Hardinge ..	1844—1848
13.	Marquess of Dalhousie ..	1848—1856
14.	Earl Canning	1856—1858

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS

	Earl Canning	1858—1862
15.	Earl of Elgin I	1862—1863
	(Sir W. T. Denison	1863—1864)
16.	Sir John Lawrence	1864—1869
17.	Earl of Mayo	1869—1872
	(Sir John Strachey	1872)
	(Lord Napier of Merchistoun ..	1872)
18.	Earl of Northbrook	1872—1876
19.	Earl of Lytton	1876—1880
20.	Marquess of Ripon	1880—1884
21.	Earl of Dufferin	1884—1888
22.	Marquess of Lansdowne ..	1888—1894
23.	Earl of Elgin II	1894—1899
24.	Earl Curzon of Kedleston ..	1899—1905
	(Lord Ampthill	1904)
25.	Earl of Minto II	1905—1910
26.	Lord Hardinge	1910—1916
27.	Lord Chelmsford	1916—1921
28.	Earl of Reading	1921—1926
	(Lord Lytton	1925)
29.	Lord Irwin	1926—1931
	(Lord Goschen	1929)
30.	Lord Willingdon	1931—1936
31.	Lord Linlithgow	1936—

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